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SPORT AND RACIAL RELATIONS
IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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EDMONTON, ALBERTA
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled SPORT AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA submitted by JOHAN LOUW in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Physical Education.

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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken with two main objectives in mind. Primarily the study was directed toward providing some objective information to assist the reader in comprehending the complex social structure of South Africa, as well as the role of sport within this society. In the second place it was hoped that this research study might be useful to the South African government in establishing a policy in its quest for a peaceful society.

In order to meet these ambitious challenges, two areas were explored. It was considered important for the realization of these two over-all objectives that a comprehensive investigation be conducted into the socio-historical and ideological background of South Africa, with particular reference to the status of sport in its development. This was attempted by means of an extensive review of available literature. The presentation of various theoretical concepts were utilized as tools to analyze some of the problems and social phenomena of the South African society.

The other area of importance in the study was a social survey which employed a questionnaire-response technique, in addition to personal interviews with segments of the sample in South Africa. Two independent variables were used in the sample, namely those of race and group affiliation. Each of these groups of athletes, politicians and sports administrators comprised of both Whites and Blacks (the latter term refers to Cape Coloureds, Asiatics and Bantu). For the purpose of this study the selection of respondents was limited to athletes who had competed internationally, sports administrators of provincial and international standing and prominent politicians. The purpose of this investigation was to measure their attitudes concerning the possibility of sport acting as a catalyst to improve domestic racial relations in sport and industry, and in the South African society at large.

The research findings indicated that the respondents perceived sport to be one of the most important social institutions in South Africa and that both the racial groups reacted in a similar fashion to the importance of sport. It was concluded that the value consensus demonstrated across racial lines could, if exploited, be used to improve racial relations in South Africa. Further findings suggest that both racial groups in the sample were in favor of racial integration in sport, but the Blacks demonstrated greater support than their white counterparts. Identical results were obtained from the sample on the issue of racial integration in industry. It was concluded that the respondents were ready for racial integration in both sport and industry. In addition, it was speculated that if such a development should come about, the structural-functionalist approach could hold far reaching implications for the South African society.

Although the black respondents indicated their support for total social integration, it was to a lesser degree than their support for racial integration in sport and industry. The white respondents demonstrated a similar decline in support for total social integration, however their responses were still more in favor than in opposition to this possibility. It was concluded that the sample accepted racial integration in sport and industry, but due to the biological mixing the Whites were less agreeable to social integration. The idea of mixed marriage was slightly more acceptable to black respondents.

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Thanks Kerry.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Various cultures have different institutions, attitudes and beliefs which often result in conflicting identities. One way of reducing these conflicts is through communication (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971) (Kriesberg, 1973). Because of the crosscultural nature of sport, it appears as the ideal institution to promote communication and thus aid in changing racial attitudes.

> Whenever representatives of different races meet and discover in one another--beneath the differences of races--sentiments, tastes, interests and human qualities that they can understand and respect, racial barriers are undermined and eventually broken down (Park, 1950, p. 254).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study examines the role of sport within the South African society as it pertains to the mitigation of domestic racial relations. The institution of sport has been mentioned by many scholars as being of major consequence to South Africans (Scholtz, 1974) (Brutus, 1971) (Lapchick, 1973). Brutus (1971) contends that it is not easy for those unfamiliar with the South African situation, to grasp the extent to which sport dominates the thinking of most South Africans. Sport in South Africa, claims Lapchick (1973), is approaching the status common to a national religion. Little, if any, empirical data has ever been established in support of these projections. It is, therefore, important to this study to scientifically ascertain the status of sport in South Africa and to investigate the influences sport has, as well as could have, upon the social structure of South Africa.

The major problem of this study is to determine whether South Africans are prepared to accept, and peacefully co-exist, in a racially integrated society and whether sport could make a contribution to the process of change. A number of subsidary problems have to be investigated in order to resolve the major problem. Some of these are: whether, and to what extent, the institution of sport has an influence upon the government; whether sport has an influence upon race relations; a determination of the reactions of South Africans to other racial groups and an examination of the possibilities of social integration in sport and industry. In addition, the possible consequences of integrated sport and industry upon the total social structure is another subsidary problem that will be investigated. Basically then, this study seeks to provide insight in the role of sport in the evolutionary evolvement of the South African society.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

The survey research method was used to gather data in this study. The sample was drawn such that there was representation of both races (see Chapter 3 under definition of race), and an attempt was made to include respondents who may have differing perspectives of the South African sport situation. In most cases these respondents were personally interviewed, while in other instances the person was requested to complete a mailed questionnaire.

These questions were directed at acquiring attitudes of the respondents towards the position of sport in South Africa, its interaction with government and its influence upon the international status of the country. In addition, questions were used to analyze attitudes of the respondents towards integration in sport and the carry-over value of sport into other social institutions.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The struggle for equal access of all peoples to their particular societies has brought about the emancipation process of subordinates and minorities over the last two decades:

> Ever since the revolutionary epoch of the late eighteenth century, the economic and political enfranchisement of minorities has been regarded not merely as inherent in the "rights of man", but as the necessary instrument in the struggle for cultural emancipation. Freedom of choice in occupation, rights of land ownership . . . these and other full privileges of citizenship are the foundations upon which freedom rests (Cox, 1971, p. 386).

Vann Woodward (1969) points out the ways in which segregation and discrimination in the American 'Deep South' parallelled the South African situation up to the Second World War. The ideas of liberty subsequently reached the "Deep South" while South Africa chose to continue on its route of black disenfranchisement through the policy of separate development. It is this choice, according to Paton, that placed the white man in South Africa in this "tragic dilemma" of

> . . . a man caught on the face of a cliff. As he sees it, he cannot go up and he cannot go down; if he stays where he is, he will die. All those who stand watching have pity for him. But the analogy, alas, is obviously incomplete, for the world's spectators of our drama are seldom pitiful; they are often reproachful. From their point of vantage they can see which way we ought to go, but they see us taking some other way which will lead us to destruction. And . . . the world looks at us in astonishment, wondering what madness has possessed us (Vann Woodward, 1969, pp. 121,122).

South Africa now walks her chosen path in isolation and under constant international and domestic pressures. Due to the anaesthetizing of racial consciences through time and various means of rationalization, the white man finds himself "on the face of a cliff". The conscience of the power group in South Africa needs reactivation and possibly then ". . . can [we] see which way we ought to go". The moral justification of this study lies within the reactivating and introspective value it might hold for South Africans.

Further justification of this study could readily be found in its practical importance. International and domestic pressure groups demanding social change in South Africa met with limited, if any, success until they introduced sport as a means to obtain their ultimate goal of racial equality. An editorial in the Johannesburg Sunday Times accurately depicts the situation:

> South Africa's critics have simply discovered that sport is the most useful weapon they have yet found with which to beat us and while it is the sportsmen who are the sacrificial victims--they are being ostracized and deprived of the right to participate in world sport--the main target of attack is the racial policy of South Africa or, to put it more precisely, the racial policy of the Nationalist Party (Lapchick, 1973, p. 310).

The importance of sport in the South African society is clearly illustrated by its effectiveness as a boycott mechanism. The government is aware of the implications attached to acceding to the demands of the various pressure groups--integration in sport "would be sufficient to sabotage the entire structure of the South African society" (Brutus, 1971, p. 151). The practical justification of this study is secured in the possibilities and opportunities created for the South African government through the problems of sport boycotts. Will the government utilize this opportunity to change the destiny of South Africa through the medium of sport or is the process of social change too alarming to accept the challenge?

A third measure of justification for this study is related to its theoretical merit. The present social structure of South Africa is so highly stratified and demarcated that it lends itself particularly well to analyses of social problems such as racism, prejudice and discrimination, majority-minority conflict, pluralism, marginality, social change and the effects of protestantism on race relations. Various scholars have developed theories in these areas, but there has been a dearth of empirical research carried out within the borders of the Republic of South Africa. The result is a noticable vacuum in scientific literature on South Africa's social problems based on empirical data.

Up to the present comparatively little attention has been given to the theoretical possibilities of sport as a change agent within the plural society. It would seem, however, that because sport has the potential to bring about changes within the structure of South Africa, it has obvious theoretical merit.

H.G. Wells states that "the real social dirt is ignorance", and ignorance can only be surmounted by real knowledge and consequent understanding (Hynam, 1969, p. 11). Biased literature in various countries around the globe condemning apartheid practices and biased literature in South Africa condoning apartheid as a way of life, hardly eliminates the danger of ignorance. This study hopefully will provide a balance between those polar views of South Africa.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter II is a survey of the literature which analyzes theories of race, racism, prejudice, discrimination, minorities, pluralism and social change. In addition, this chapter reviews the literature on race relations in South Africa under the headings of: initial contact and stratification; towards a policy of segregation; the actual policy of separate development; the policy in practice; apartheid and its relations to the homelands and the economy, as well as the association between sport and apartheid.

Chapter III presents the sample that was utilized, the procedure used to collect the data and the research instruments employed to obtain the necessary information. Furthermore, the operationalized definitions, the hypotheses, the statisticsl treatment, the delimitations and limitations of the study were all in this chapter.

Chapter IV offers the findings of the study and these findings are discussed in terms of their applicability to sociological theory. The test of the hypotheses are also presented in this chapter. Chapter V presents a summary of the study, the conclusions and implications that could be drawn from this work, as well as recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS IN RACE RELATIONS

In many fields of study the definition of basic concepts poses a fundamental problem and Kinloch (1974) claims that the field of race relations is "particularly problematic" in this regard (p. 49). Cox (1948) has the support of many social scientists when he points to the absence of a universally accepted definition of race as being the principal inadequacy concerning conceptual stability in the field of race relations. Kluckhohn (1949) supports the opinion that there is no field of science in which as many misunderstandings occur so frequently among scholars. Therefore a closer examination of various aspects of race relations is required in order to help clarify this conceptual problem.

1. Race:

The preoccupation of biologists, geneticists, anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists with the phenomenon of race reflects its importance in modern society:

C

> . . . race has played a far larger part than either language or nationality in moulding the destinies of men; race implies heredity, and heredity implies the moral, social and intellectual characteristics and traits which are springs of politics and government (Osborn, in Grant, 1916, p. vii).

Allport (1958) contends that during the past hundred years race has "become the core for the categorization of ideas about human differences", and he notes several possibilities which account for the emphasis on, and misinterpretation of race (p. 106). For example, Allport suggests that Darwinism--implying the purity of races--does not provide for "mongrel dogs and cows and mongrel men", and consequently contributes to man's uncertain interpretations of race. Family inheritance, according to Allport, has also contributed greatly to our confusion in this area:

> If physical, physiological, mental and temperamental traits run in families, why not in races--which are also groups characterized by common descent? (p. 107)

This kind of reasoning unfortunately overlooks the possible role of "learning" as opposed to the exclusive implications of inheritance. Furthermore, it also overlooks the fact that unlike in a biological family, the genetic composition of a race is far less unified and the results of inheritance then are far less significant. Often racial pride is directed towards the concept of common blood of people of the same race--this concept finds no support in science, since all blood types are found in all races.

Van den Berghe (1967) mentions four "principle connotations" attached to the term race and which cause confusion. Firstly, the physical anthropologists have called races the various sub-species of homo sapiens which are "characterized by certain phenotypical and genotypical traits", but no real categorical congruency has been established by these social scientists (p. 9). This lack of cohesion has caused various physical anthropologists to abandon racial taxonomies. Secondly, laymen use the word race to describe a human group sharing certain cultural characteristics--language and religion are often used to classify humans in a racial group. Allport (1958) and Kluckhohn (1949) are of similar opinion when they allege that this situation is a result of the inability of the average person to distinguish between racial and ethnic groups. According to Kluckhohn (1949) a racial group refers to hereditary ties while an ethnic group refers to social and cultural ties.

The term race is also used as a synonym for the term species, which adds to the confusion (e.g. human race). A fourth connotation attached to race by many social scientists refers to race as a "group that is socially defined but on the basis of physical criteria" (van den Berghe, 1967, p. 9):

> [Race is] a human group that defines itself and/or is defined by other groups as different from other groups by virtue of innate and immutable physical characteristics. These physical characteristics are in turn believed to be intrinsically related to moral, intellectual, and other non-physical attributes or abilities (p. 9).

Kinloch (1974) states that racial groups exist only when groups are "defined as such on the basis of perceived differences" (p. 51). Lind (1969) supports this concept of the social recognition of races by stressing that:

> Races come into being and races cease to exist, because the shifting conditions of life have made such groups clearly conscious of their being significantly different from others and have enforced a comparable conviction upon those who do not belong (p. 51).

Racial definitions, therefore, change according to the historical, economical, political and demographic development of a society (Lind, 1969). Various other social scientists identify with the approach of race as an all encompassing social concept. Banton (1967), for example, feels that perceived physical differences are used as a basis of assigning people to particular roles within the social order and that societies have well-defined systems of racial roles which help to make up the racial caste structure. Rex (1969) also places race in a social category and he proves his point by utilizing various examples ranging from plantation slavery to different aspects of ethnic pluralism. Kinloch (1974) sums up the approach of various contemporary social scientists towards the social dimension of race:

> . . . race is not a physical category; rather it is a social label or definition which has evolved out of society's particular historical development (p. 52).

Consequently, the same racial group might be differently defined in another society. In Rex's (1968) view, the more colonial a social structure, the more rigid the societal definitions of race. With industrialization these definitions have changed and with further social changes redefinitions will likely take place.

The concept of race is presently in its third stage of development, which is sometimes referred to as the sociological approach. The original approach refers to the physiological (biological/physical anthropological/genetic) interpretation of race and was followed by the psychological approach (Kinloch, 1974). To van den Berghe (1967) the study of race relations is as much within the scope of social psychology as it is within that of sociology. Allport's (1958) work of The Nature of Prejudice as well as certain parts of Simpson and Yinger's (1972) Racial and Cultural Minorities, emphasize this point. Although the sociological approach, as well as the socio-psychological, are well received at present, the physiological approach has been generally accepted in scholarly circles for a long period of time (Simpson's and Yinger's, 1972).

One of the viewpoints related to the physical or biological concept of race, is the genetical theory of race. Ashley Montagu (1942) explains that this theory is based on certain assumptions, such as the relative genetic homogeneity of the original ancestral human species population, the dispersion through space of families away from the original ancestral group by migration, the geographical isolation of these groups over a considerable period of time and the reaction of certain factors within these isolated communities which resulted in evolutionary change. These factors include inherent variability of the genetic materials as well as gene mutation. The former situation refers to the fact that in a genetically homogeneous group "spontaneous random variations in gene frequencies will in the course of time occur" (p. 39). This means that these originally homogeneous groups will develop differences from other ecotypes, which started with the same genetic equipment, due to the reoccurrence of certain genes. Mutation on the other hand, refers to the process whereby a particular gene undergoes a permanent change--the "appearance of a new form of an old character" (Montagu, 1942, p. 39). Montagu uses the example of changes in skin color: assuming that white was the primitive skin color of man, the mutant genes for brown skin might have appeared in a certain population, while another population may have mutated a yellowish skin and finally through subsequent mutation black skin might have appeared. Montagu concludes that the "so-called races" only represent a variety of combinations of genetic materials common to all mankind.

Various geneticists have researched the actual gene combinations of different populations in order to establish a reliable method of measuring a particular race. Boyd (1958) describes various gene frequencies that characterize certain human populations. However, the relationship between these differences and a particular race is at present still hazy and Boyd is of the opinion that further research is necessary to establish the validity of this method as a successful way of measuring a given race. Simpson and Yinger (1972) are rather pessimistic as to the possible success of this method, since "man's great proclivities for travel and interbreeding have mixed human genes to such an extent that it is by no means easy to tell racial background" (p. 37).

As is the case with geneticists, physical anthropologists have also attempted to measure the phenomonon of race--their method of testing, however, is based upon several physiological characteristics. The most commonly used characteristics are skin color, nasal index, hair texture, head form, hair and eye color, facial index and stature (Simpson and Yinger, 1972). Although skin color has been the most popular means of identifying racial features, it is, according to Simpson and Yinger, one of the most unreliable traits if taken singly. This is because of variations within and overlapping of the populations. Extreme types, however, can be identified without the use of the refined technique of spectrophotometry. Hooten (1946) recognizes five pigments contributing to the color of skin, with malanin, carotene and an effect called scattering being the main ones. Of all the different tests, the test of hair form proves to be one of the most reliable criteria for race and falls into three main categories. The ulotrichy hair form, referring to oval, tightly curled strands, is indicative of Negroids; the leiotrichy form, which is straight and round in cross section, is found with Mongoloids; while the cymotrichy hair form is wavy and intermediate in cross section and denotes affiliation to the Caucasian race (Simpson and Yinger, 1972).

Various anthropologists have attempted to divide the human population into racial categories, but no real consensus has been established. Coon (1962) devised a theory on the origin of races whereby he could trace back five living races of mankind from homo erectus. According to Coon's theory the Mongoloids developed from Sinanthropus, the Caucasoids from early Neanderthals, the Australoids from Pithecanthropus, Solo and Wadjak, and the Capoids, which refers to the Bushmen and Hottentots, developed from the Ternefine-Tangier line of North Africa. Coon finds the origin of the African Negroes and Pygmies (Congoids) a mystery, but ventures to predict that the Congoids crossed the sapiens line 200,000 years later than the Caucasoids. Lehrman (1966), a biologist, feels that if two genetic systems--referring to that of the Caucasoids and the Congoids--have evolutionized independently over so long a period of time, interfertility would be impossible. Garn (1963) questions Coon's decision as to the time when the subspecies of erectus became sapiens, since the taxonomic criteria and gaps in fossil record makes such a decision hard to defend.

Even Montagu (1942) who has been a strong advocate against the establishment of fixed racial differences and racial categories, has attempted to classify populations. In 1942 he preferred to refer to races as divisions of mankind and recognized the following divisions: Mongolian, Caucasian, Negro, Australo-Melanesian and Polynesian. By

1960, he revised his earlier classification with his major and ethnic grouping of man. The major groups refer to Negroid, Caucasoid and Mongoloid groups which are each subdivided into various ethnic groups (Montagu, 1960). In an article called "The Concept of Race" published in 1962, Montagu employed the term genogroups to refer to a "breeding population which differs from other breeding populations of the species in the frequency of one or more genes" (p. 925). A number of other social scientists objecting to the use of the term race, substitute with the term "population" (Simpson and Yinger, 1972).

Garn's (1961) nine major races based on geographical location, include such races as Amerindian, Micronesian and Melanesia-Papuan, plus thirty-two local races or breeding populations. Coon, Garn and Birdsell published a thirty race classification in 1950 and Dobzhansky (1962) classified the human population into thirty-four races, based upon gene frequencies and other observable physical traits. Mayr (1968) acknowledges the existence of different races but feels that drawing a line between them is impossible. The uncertainty of racial classification is summed up well by Washburn (1963) when he states that "since races are open systems which are integrating, the number of races will depend on the purpose of the classification" (p. 524). Although races, according to Glass (1968), are vanishing, it is a process which will need thousands of years--"in the meantime, color and racial diversity will continue to have great and, possibly, increasing social and political significance" (Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p. 46).

2. Racism:

Van den Berghe (1967) gives an idea of the diversified connotations connected to racism:

> . . . to a social psychologist racism is a special instance of prejudice; for the philosopher racism is a particular body of ideas; The political scientist may regard racism as a special kind of political ideology . . . ; a historian may look at race and racism as by-products of, and rationalizations for, Western slavery and colonial expansion; A cultural anthropologist may regard race and racism as traits in the cultural inventory of people (p. 132).

Kinloch (1974) states that the psychological approach towards the explanation of racial attitudes is of major importance--van den Berghe (1967) chooses to refer to this approach as socio-psychological. Both racism and prejudice fit into this category, since both these phenomena are related to personality. Racism, writes van den Berghe (1967), "is ultimatley reducible to a set of attitudes which are, of course, socially derived but which nevertheless become part of the personality system" (p. 18). Simpson and Yinger (1972) describe prejudice as "an emotional, rigid attitude (a predisposition to respond to a certain stimulus in a certain way) towards a group of people" (p. 24).

The relationship between racism, prejudice and discrimination has never been adequately explained--social scientists tend to utilize these terms in interchangable fashion without any definite consistency. Webster's

Dictionary (1961) encourages this approach with its definition of the term racism:

> Assumption of inherent racial superiority or the purity and superiority of certain races, and consequent discrimination against other races; also any doctrine or program of racial domination and discrimination based on such as assumption. Also less specif., race hatred and discrimination (p. 1870).

Van den Berghe (1967) is of the opinion that racism could only be accurately defined in terms of its actual situational context. To some people racism is a symptom of deeply rooted psychological problems, while to the majority of people living in a racist society, racism is simply a means of conforming to the social norms of their society. Van den Berghe (1967) hypothesizes that:

> The more overt, blatant, and socially sanctioned racism is, the less of the variance in both racial prejudice and discrimination can be accounted for in psychodynamic terms (p. 21).

The opposite is true too: in a society where social pressures and rewards for racism are absent, racism would be more restricted to people for whom prejudice fulfills a psychological need.

As these social norms are modified according to changed social conditions, so will the definition of racism undergo a change. Van den Berghe (1967) illustrates this statement with the liberation of colonial Africa--during and after decolonialization the Europeans rapidly adjusted their attitudes and behavior towards black Africans. Those who could not adjust left the country, some modified their behavior but not their attitudes, while most of the Whites "showed remarkable adaptation to drastically changed political and social conditions" (p. 39).

Banton (1967) endeavors to distinguish between the three phenomena under scrutiny. He writes that prejudice is the attitude, discrimination reflects the manner in which social relations are based upon such attitudes, while racism is:

> . . . the doctrine that a man's behavior is determined by stable inherited characters deriving from separate racial stocks having distinctive attributes and usually considered to stand to one another in relations of superiority and inferiority (p. 8).

To Kinloch (1974) racial prejudice in general indicates the attitudinal acceptance of racist criteria, "while racial discrimination reflects the societal translation of these norms into the form of a racial caste system" (p. 55). His understanding of the term racism specifies it as:

> . . . uncritical acceptance [through socialization] of a negative social definition of a group identified as a race on perceived physical grounds along with the legitimacy of the discriminatory treatment accompanying that definition (p. 54)

On the subject of the origin of racism, Cox (1959) hypothesizes that

> . . . racial exploitation and race prejudice developed among Europeans with the rise of capitalism and nationalism, and that because of the world-wide ramifications of capitalism, all racial antagonisms can be traced to the policies and attitudes of the leading capitalist people, the white people of Europe and North America (p. 322).

Cox identifies the initial signs towards modern day racism during the Crusades. He refers to this situation as the "rise of the politico-religious system of Christianity", which was at first manifested in a "Jew-heathen-infidel antagonistic complex" (pp. 325-26). However, racism and racial prejudice unfolded when the religious definition of equality was not accepted any more by the colonizing powers. Cox refers to 1493-94 as the year which marked the beginning of modern racism--this was the time when total disregard for "human rights and physical power of the non-Christian peoples of the world, the colored people, was officially assumed by" Spain and Portugal (p. 332). Cox rationalizes his Marxist account of the origin and development of racism as simply the most consistent explanation of the facts.

In her book Race: Science and Politics, Benedict (1950) indicates that racial antagonism is a recent European development, regardless of the fact that fanatical racism occurred in Isreal prior to the days of modern racism. Park (1968) declares that race relations, and all that they imply, are products of migration and conquest. According to Park, racism developed independently in different civilizations long before the development of modern racism. Van den Berghe's (1967) understanding of the origins of racism supports Park in that he believes "racism . . . has been independently discovered and rediscovered by various peoples at various times in history" (p. 12). Van den Berghe mentions four conditions under which racism has frequently developed and flourished: military conquest in which the victor establishes political and economical domination, gradual frontier expansion whereby the native population is exterminated and subordinated, involuntary migration through slavery and voluntary migration when alien groups seek political protection or economic opportunities.

The origin of Western racism, conversely, should be understood in the light of three major sociological factors: slavery in the New World and colonial expansions in Africa, the influence of social Darwinism, and the "egalitarian and libertarian ideas of the Enlightment and French Revolutions" (Van den Berghe, 1967, p. 18). Although racism was used in the slavery and colonization situations to rationalize their existance, van den Berghe contends that both these phenomena existed without an appreciable amount of racism and that racism is consequently not purely a result of colonization and slavery. Hofstadter (1959) declares that the Darwinian thought of stages of evolution, survival of the fittest, hereditary determinism, et cetera, was congruent with racism.

3. Prejudice:

Social scientists have been much less reluctant to speculate on the concept of prejudice than on the concept of racism. The research studies related to prejudice provide a better understanding of the intricate relationship between prejudice, discrimination and racism. They also account for the different socio-psychological attitudes towards race.

Allport (1958) investigated the origin and development of the word prejudice to enable him to understand its dimensions and so to define it accurately. The term under discussion originated from the Latin word, praejudicium, which meant a judgement based on previous decisions and experiences. When the term was initially taken over in English it referred to a premature or hasty judgement (Allport, 1958). Only later did the term acquire its "present emotional flavor of favorableness or unfavorableness that accompanies such a prior and unsupported judgement" (p. 7). Prejudgments are distinguished from prejudice in that one can discuss and rectify a prejudgment without emotional resistance. Vickery and Opler (1948) point out that prejudice not only involves prejudgment, but also misjudgement. They claim that prejudice is categorical thinking that systematically misinterprets the facts. All misjudgements, however, are not prejudice. Prejudice is misjudgement of members of a group and refers to a socially oriented action. Ackerman and Jahoda (1950) state that stereotypy is another phenomenon that is closely connected to prejudgment and prejudice. Prejudgment occurs when facts are not available, while stereotypy is a process with little regard for facts. Prejudice is a "sub-category of prejudgment and it uses stereotypy but it is not identical with either" (p. 4).

Simpson and Yinger (1972) note that prejudice, as it is normally used, includes a wide varity of phenomena. Williams

(1947) uses the expression "umbrella concept" to describe this same idea. He states that prejudice could be mild or violent, and that it could contrast between groups with whom one has no personal contact and those with whom one has continual contact. Allport (1958) mentions that prejudice could be either positive or negative--in the case of ethnic or racial prejudice however, the connotations are mostly negative. For example, when a group of students was asked to describe their attitudes towards ethnic groups, they responded with eight times as many antagonistic as favorable ones (Allport, 1958).

One of the "phenomena" prejudice embraces is race, and racial or ethnic prejudice to Allport (1958) indicates:

> . . . an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or to an individual because he is a member of that group (p. 10).

Adinarayan (1964) is more specific in his definition of color prejudice. He points out that this form of prejudice may be defined as an attitude or group of attitudes towards certain people due to physical characteristics, with skin color a major determinant. Color prejudice could be intensified "by economic, political and social causes as well as primitive feelings of fear, disgust and jealousy" (p. 1). The Marxist viewpoint of Oliver Cox (1959) pertaining to race prejudice is evident in his definition:

> Race prejudice . . . is a social attitude propagated among the public by an exploiting class for the purpose of stigmatizing some group as inferior so that the exploitation of either the group itself or

> its resources or both may be justified. Persecution and exploitation are the behavior aspects of intolerance and race prejudice respectively (p. 393).

Allport (1958) endeavors in his book, The Nature of Prejudice, to introduce an over-all theoretical orientation to the problem of prejudice on the basis of psychological and social causation. The various theories of prejudice are divided into six categories of emphasis: historical emphasis, psychodynamic emphasis, situational emphasis, phenomenological emphasis, and emphasis on earned reputation. For this study the first three categories are the most worthy of investigation.

Various historians are of the opinion that, due to the longevity of ethnic conflicts, a historical analysis of these conflicts is necessary. To Handlin (1948), for example, a purely psychological view is too confining:

> Such studies are enlightening only within narrow limits. For personality is itself conditioned by social forces; in the last analysis, the search for understanding must reach into the broad social context within which personality is shaped (p. 80).

Allport (1958) affirms the usefulness of history as a means of providing that "broad social context", but he also acknowledges the fact that history fails to explain why within the same social context, one personality develops prejudice and another does not.

Some of the historical studies attempting to explain prejudice stress the importance of economic determinants. Probably the best known of these studies is the above mentioned Marxist exploitation theory of prejudice. Allport (1958) sees this theory as being attractive due to a large number of concomitant situations in Africa, North America and the Orient, but notes that although a certain amount of truth is evident in the exploitation theory, "it is weak in many particulars" (p. 205). It fails to account for the fact that there is not equal prejudice against all exploited people--various immigrant groups have been exploited in America, but none suffered prejudice to the same extent as the Negroes and Jews. According to Allport, the example of the persecution of the Mormons and Quakers in the United States, which was done in the absence of economic incentives, illuminates a further weakness in Marx's theory. White factory workers and tennant farmers in America suffered exploitation similar to that of the Negro, "but no ritual of discrimination has developed against them" (p. 205). The historic contributions to the understanding of prejudice, therefore, are not all confined to the economic interpretation, and for these reasons Allport feels that the Marxist theory of prejudice is too simple. He does admit, however, that it denotes one of the factors involved in prejudice, namely the rationalization of the self-interest of the wealthy.

Within the socio-cultural category numerous theoretical approaches have been developed to explicate racial and ethnic prejudices. Allport (1958) indicates that prejudices are induced, increased and will flourish in the following situations: where there is heterogeneity in the population; where vertical mobility is possible; where rapid social change is in progress and accompanied by anomie; where ignorance and communication obstacles are present; where the population of the minority group is dense; where direct competition and realistic conflict exist; where minorities are exploited; where the release of aggression through scapegoating is tolerated by society; where legend and tradition have sustained hostility and where neither assimilation nor cultural pluralism are favored.

Within a homogeneous society there is little alarm for prejudice, since the differentiation bases for prejudice such as color, religion, language, styles of clothing and standards of living are shared by all the people. Only two types of antagonisms are available to people within a homogeneous society: a distrust of foreigners and the singling out of individuals for ostracism. In the heterogeneous community sufficient visibility exist around which prejudice may be built--color, cast of features, speech or accent, names, religious practices, place of residence and more, are common means for differentiation of in-group and out-group stereotyping (Allport, 1958). A scheme for classifying the grades of visibility among races was suggested by Keith (1928). This was done according to the proportion of members of a specific race that are readily identifiable. His scheme consists of four categories: pandiacritic, which indicates that every individual is recognizable; mesodiacritic, which indicates eighty percent or more recognizability; mesodiacritic, indicating between thirty and eighty percent are recognizable and microdiacritic, which indicates that less than thirty percent of a specific race is recognizable. A major means of identification tends to be appearance, with color having an overpowering impact upon perceptions (Allport, 1958).

The group-norm theory of prejudice has strong implications for the heterogeneous society. Sherif and Sherif (1953) indicate that the original factors leading to the formation of prejudiced attitudes are functionally related to becoming a group member, and consequently adopting the group norms and values as a foundation "in regulating experience and behavior" (p. 218). This theory furthermore suggests that all groups:

> . . . develop a way of living with characteristic codes and beliefs, standards and enemies to suit their own adaptive needs. The theory holds also that both gross and subtle pressures keep every individual member in line (Allport, 1958, p. 38)

The child is regarded as a member of the parents' group and the child is normally expected to acquire their loyalties and prejudices. If the parents, due to their group membership, are objects of prejudice, the child too will automatically be victimized (Allport, 1958). According to McManus (1961), because the child is born into a family, a religion, a race, et cetera, the formation of in-groups is a normal development. The in-group refers to man's preference for the familiar, and the consequent unfamiliarity with another group increases the potential for prejudice.

Some situational theorists of prejudice consider it "primarily as a phenomenon of upward and downward mobility" (Allport, 1958, p. 209). The research of Greenblum and Pearlin (1966) indicates that downward mobility is associated with greater prejudice. They note in addition, however, that upward mobility might also be associated with prejudice since prejudice could be used to secure hard-earned prestige or to enchance further upward mobility. Silberstein and Seeman (1959) clarify the association of prejudice with downward mobility. They found that it was not downward mobility per se causing prejudice, but rather downward mobility of those who were highly sensitive to status considerations. Such people proved significantly more anti-Semitic and anti-negro than the upwardly mobile respondents (non-status seekers). Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950) discovered through their research, that a person's present status in society is not all-important in regulating his or her prejudice. The upward or downward shifting of his or her status, however, is the determing factor in the regulation of prejudice.

Allport (1958) is of the opinion that the combination of heterogeneity and the urge for upward mobility contribute to the cause of agitation and conflict in society, "and are likely to bring ethnic prejudice in their wake" (p. 218). This process, according to Allport, is accelerated during times of crisis and anomie:

> As the Roman empire crumbled the Christians were more frequently fed to the lions. During the period of war strain in America, race riot markedly increased (especially in the year 1943). Whenever the cotton business in the South has slumped, the number of lynchings has appreciably increased (pp. 218-219).

Certain types of crises, however, have the effect of lessening intergoup hostilities within a nation. This is usually the case when the whole nation is threatened by a common enemy such as natural disasters, wars, and so forth.

The belief that prejudice can be eradicated by increasing knowledge is based on the assumption that the more one knows about a person, the less likely it is that a feeling of hostility will exist (Allport, 1958). Hynam (1969) declares that prejudice is a world-wide illness and that ignorance, due to a lack of knowledge and understanding of the group the prejudice is directed towards, contributes to its perpetuation. Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb (1937) found through the use of surveying studies, that those who know most about about other races and peoples tend to demonstrate positive attitudes towards them. Contrary, to this argument, Grace and Neuhaus (1952) found that the law of inverse relation between knowledge and hostility does not hold true for extreme degrees of hostility. That is, despite considerable knowledge of our worst enemy, hostility may still exist.

The rapid influx of a minority group into a residential area often causes the resident population to feel threatened and this subsequently results in prejudice. Allport (1958) alleges that in itself, growing density is not a sufficient principle to explain increased prejudice. Certain ethnic groups have higher degrees of visibility or possess more points of difference and they consequently appear more threatening. The growing density of such a minority group seems to aggravate the already existing prejudice, rather than being the cause of the prejudice. Williams (1947) explains this phenomenon as follows:

> Migration of a visibly different group into a given area increases the likelihood of conflict; the probability of conflict is greater (a) the larger the ratio of the incoming minority to the resident population, and (b) the more rapid the influx (p. 57).

Prior to the second World War, according to Richmond (1950), color prejudice in England "was slight", but during the war a large number of black people made Liverpool their home and a strong feeling against them developed.

Various scholars maintain that the operation of this socio-cultural law could be significantly reduced if the minority groups would disperse themselves as individuals and not gather collectivity. Talcott Parsons (1945) declares that if the Jews could be evenly distributed throughout the social structure, the prejudice against them would probably be greatly reduced. Allport (1958) mentions that due to economic and social reasons the dispersion of minorities in this manner is not easily achieved. This tendency of the minorities to cluster together in a subsociety and in given occupations, greatly increases the communication gap between the minority and majority groups.

Within the sphere of realistic conflict, prejudice is often used as a smoke-screen. Economic, international and ideological conflicts that present a genuine confrontation of interests and values are often much more difficult to solve, due to the unnecessary affiliation of prejudice to the core conflict. In the economic field it is seldom true that one ethnic group directly threatens another but, due to the inclusion of prejudice into a realistic conflict situation, this interpretation is often accepted. In the international and religious spheres, conflicts are magnified due to the addition of "irrelevant stereotypes" (Allport, 1958).

Prejudice, according to Allport (1958), is used by the majority group to exploit the minority groups. The Marxian theory of prejudice would improve considerably in credibility if the means of exploitation was not restricted to the economic sphere. Dollard (1937) illustrates this point by referring to a variety of forms through which the Negroes are exploited. Exploitation is achieved through offering them low wages for menial jobs, while the employer gains economically. Furthermore, the white man gains sexually at the expense of the Negro woman while denying corresponding access of white women to Negro males. Many Whites, in addition, consider Negroes as mentally and socially inferior and this provides them with a comforting status gain. By either intimidating the Negro voter or preventing him or her from voting, the white politician might gain politically. McWilliams (1948) shows that anti-Semitism in America was a social exploitation ploy used by the railroad tycoons to divert attention from their own dubious interpretations of the democratic ideals of America. They propagated prejudice against the Jews on the basis of their involvement with and responsibility for the economic ills, their political fraud and their moral lapses. In a diversified society then, various forms of exploitation against a minority group could be used, with prejudice being a necessary component of this process (Allport, 1958).

Allport (1958) mentions that although members of a specific group naturally identify with their group through a variety of aspects, further stimulation towards greater identification is contended for by the group, and usually at the expense of out-groups. In such a milieu prejudice becomes part of the identification process of the group members. Prejudice also poses as an underlying factor in the situation where the dominant group unfavorably views both assimilation and cultural pluralism. The dominant group regards the minority group as inferior and consequently does not want to assimilate. The alternative of full separation, and the consequent relinquishing of resources and power to the minority group for independence, is also unacceptable.

The third category under which prejudice will be discussed is referred to by Allport (1948) as the psychodynamic emphasis and it ascribes to "theories that stress causation in human nature" (p. 209). Simpson and Yinger (1972) allege that a general body of systematic socio-psychological theory about human behavior is necessary to explain prejudice:

> To say simply that there is an 'instinct' or natural tendency towards prejudice, or that there is an inevitable 'dislike of the unlike', or that so-called prejudice against minority groups is a natural reaction to their factual inferiority--explanations that abound in the early literature--is to fail to bring the study of prejudice into the framework of contemporary theory of human behavior (p. 63).

Included in the general body of systematic socio-psychological theory of prejudice are certain hypotheses. The frustration-aggression theory, as projected by Dollard (1937), refers to the fact that denial of certain goals or gratifications, leads to frustration. In certain situations the frustration is displaced from the actual cause to an unrelated scapegoat, which in turn becomes the object of aggression. This "expression of aggression has presumably a cathartic effect of relieving frustration" (van den Berghe, 1967, p. 19). Racial and ethnic prejudice results when the scapegoating is directed to members of a cultural group and the aggression against them is rationalized in terms of their alleged undesirable traits.

Simpson and Yinger (1972) state that in many instances the acquired hostility cannot be directed at the actual source of frustration. This can be due to the possible absence of a human agent, or the agent being unknown or too powerful to retaliate against. Also, the frustration might have originated as a result of the self-contradictory tendencies of the individual. In cases where the agent is a member of the in-group, hostility might be stored up or directed towards oneself or towards some substitute target that "is more accessible or less able to strike back" (p. 67). Burke (1969) found in his research that a task leader, demanding great sacrifices beyond the level of legitimacy, could very well fulfil the role of frustration agent. "Free-floating", undirected hostility may result when the actual agent cannot be attacked and often this displacement of hostility is directed at minority groups (Simpson and Yinger, 1972). Allport (1958) supports this approach and declares that "deprivation and frustration lead to hostile impulses, which if not controlled are likely to discharge against ethnic minorities" (p. 209).

The injustice-and irrational behavior of the prejudiced person causes emotional and intellectual strains which he cannot ignore. In order to ease his conscience he creates or accepts convincing reasons for his actions against the minority group. Various dubious kinds of evidence is used to demonstrate that the members of the minority group actually deserve the treatment he administers upon them. A common method of justification and a means of eliminating a guilt complex is to project some of the evil traits characterizing his own behavior onto the scapegoat (Simpson and Yinger, 1972). The prejudiced person, in a final attempt to escape doubt regarding his behavior toward a minority, would stereotype behavior of individual members of a minority group. This in turn helps him to rationalize his prejudice towards the entire group (Zawadski, 1948).

Simpson and Yinger (1972) point out two reasons why this theory is ineffective and inconclusive. Firstly, since the actual source of frustration still persists, the prejudiced person is not truly successful in reducing his hostilities through the process of scapegoating. Furthermore, since the scapegoat is protecting the frustrating agent from the actual hostility, the latter will be free to perpetuate the frustration and could quite conceivably even intensify it. The second reason the frustration-hostility-displacement or projection cycle of hostility reduction proves ineffective is the fact that it leaves the prejudiced person with a certain sense of guilt, whether conscious or unconscious, and a fear of retaliation. These feelings of doubt and guilt consequently lead to further displacement and projection. This vicious circle indicates why in the face of reason, established prejudice resists reduction.

Allport (1948) identifies three versions of the frustration-agression/displacement-projection/scapegoating theory. The first refers to the biblical origin of the concept of scapegoating: on the Day of Atonement the Hebrews would perform a ritual whereby the sins of the people would symbolically be transferred onto a goat, which was subsequently ejected into the wilderness. This version, as described in the book of Leviticus, refers to the situation whereby personal misconduct generates guilt which is displaced upon a scapegoat. The frustration-aggression(hostility)-displacement version of this theory has been discussed above. The third version suggests that frustration generates aggression, which is displaced upon relatively defenseless scapegoats and this displaced hostility is rationalized by blaming, stereotyping and projecting.

Allport (1948) recognizes three distinguishable types of projection: direct projection, mote-beam projection and complementary projection. Direct projection refers to:

> . . . a means of solving one's conflict by ascribing to another person (or group) emotions, motives, and behavior that actually belong to the person who projects them, and not the person who is blamed for them (p. 365).

A close relationship exists between direct projection and stereotyping. Someone might possess unwanted traits such as laziness, lust or untidiness which he projects on a whole ethnic group--the Negro as completely lazy; the Jew as concupiscent; the Mexican as filthy. This extreme form of stereotyping is so far removed from the prejudiced person that he need not suspect himself of being guilty. Sheerer (1949) notes that hatred of other people may be a mirrored reflection of self-hatred and that helping such a person gain in self-esteem may be more effective therapy than to raise his respect for others.

By the mote-beam mechanism, Allport (1958) denotes the process of "exaggerating qualities in other people which both they and we possess, though we may not realize we possess them" (p. 366). This form of projection is considered by Ichheiser (1947) as a more human failing than direct projection. The third form of projection is

> . . . less of a mirrored perception and more of a rationalized perception whereby a person attempts to find causes for his own state of mind by reference to the imagined intentions and behaviors of others (p. 367).

According to Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) all forms of projection are futile. Projection is essentially a neurotic device which neither fundamentally relieves the sufferers sense of guilt, nor develops a lasting self-respect. Scapegoating is merely a disguise for constant and unrecognized self-hatred--the greater the self-hatred the more intense becomes the hatred of the scapegoat. This process develops into a vicious circle. The more hatred projected onto the scapegoat, the less sure the sufferer becomes of his logic and innocence, and consequently, the more guilt he has to project.

Some research in the field of the social psychology of prejudice has sought to establish whether prejudice is a specific response to specific stimuli or whether it should be interpreted as one manifestation of the total personality. In recent years a great deal of research has been done to test the hypotheses "that prejudice is part of a complicated personality 'syndrome'" (Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p. 77). This thesis suggests that prejudice is one manifestation of a basically insecure person who views life as unpredictable and threatening,"and who looks upon all human relationships in competitive power terms" (p. 77).

Adorno, et al., (1950), authors of The Authoritarian Personality, note that there are various socio-psychological factors functionally connected with this kind of personality:

> The most crucial result of the present study, as it seems to the authors, is the demonstration of and outlook a subject is likely to have in a great variety of areas, ranging from the most intimate features of family and sex adjustment through relationships to other people in general, to religion and to social and political philosophy (p. 971).

Among the characteristic traits peculiar to the authoritarian personality are respect for force, submission towards superiors, aggression towards subordinates, lack of insight, intolerance of deviance, destructiveness and cynicism, a tendency towards superstition and an exaggerated interest in sex. These traits are believed to develop in early childhood, with family environment often proving the deciding factor. Persons displaying these character traits score highly on the "F" scale (for fascism) on the authors' personality scale. These same persons also score highly on scales designed to measure the degree of hostility against ethnic out-groups (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford, 1950).

Frenkel-Brunswick and Sanford (1945) tested for anti-Semitism among a number of University of California students and found that those scoring high saw the pattern of human relations as basically a struggle between dominance and submission. These students scoring high in anti-Semitism also demonstrated a great deal of social anxiety--they drew a very definite line between nice people and bad people and were inclined to think in in terms of fate. Although they had many underlying aggressive feelings they were reluctant to express strong drives such as aggression and sex. They projected these drives, however, on to out-groups and saw "inferior" and "lower" people to be aggressive and sexually uninhibited. Simpson and Yinger (1972) state that numerous studies during the last decade have sought to:

> . . . test and refine, and more recently to qualify, the thesis that prejudice is to an important degree the expression of an insecure personality. They converge on such concepts as self-rejection, repression, a strong concern for power in human relationships . . . (p. 79).

MacKinnon and Centers (1956), using a sample of 460 people, found that agreement with authoritarian items went up as age increased. Studies also indicate that intelligence is a factor in authoritarianism. According to Jacobson and Rettig (1959), authoritarian tendencies decrease as intelligence increases. Simpson and Yinger (1972) declare that there is substantial evidence indicating a correlation between an increase in education and a decrease in authoritarianism. Greenberg, et al (1959) indicate that those people with authoritarian dispositions are less likely to attend college or to remain in college. The relationship between education and authoritarianism is explained by

Angell (1962) as follows:

> One could say that the well educated are active participants in a world broadened by modern communication, and that they are relatively secure in the world. It neither frightens or frustrates them. In contrast, those with little schooling are parochially oriented but not secure in their parochialism. They are vaguely aware of larger forces that they do not understand but which may bode them ill (p. 660).

The origins of the traits relating to authoritarianism, are often sought in the early family background of a person. Hart (1957) found, through tests and interviews with 126 middle-class mothers, a consistent relationship between authoritarian tendencies and harsh training methods.

One of the most important aspects of the tradition of prejudice is the stereotyped pictures it contains. Once these pictures are fixed in the culture they tend to guide the interaction of the groups involved (Fishman, 1956). Allport (1958) defines a stereotype as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category" (p. 187). He mentions that a stereotype and category are not identical. A stereotype, more correctly, is an established idea that accompanies the category. For example, the Negro category simply refers to a racial stock, while the Negro stereotype refers to this category as being musical, lazy, superstitious, et cetera. Some stereotypes are totally unsupported by facts while others develop as a result of "sharpening and overgeneralization of facts" (Allport, 1958). Merton (1957) declares that it is not what the out-group does or fails to do that causes prejudice, but rather it is caused by deeply rooted stereotypes within our social structure.

Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950) indicate that stereotyping could be used both negatively and positively. The former method of stereotyping, however, is used more frequently. Stereotyping acts both as a justification device "for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group, and as a screening or selective device to maintain simplicity in perception and thinking" (Allport, 1958). Whether held by majority or minority group members, stereotypes act as easy methods of explanation. Stereotypes include a great variety of errors, however, errors in stereotypes held by the minority are less important since the minority group does not have the "power to make reality out of its beliefs" (Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p. 153).

Simpson and Yinger (1972) point out that although there is a certain amount of truth in many stereotypes, the application of these to describe the behavior of all the members of a group is a gross error. Firstly, stereotypes produce a highly exaggerated portrayal of the importance of only a few favorable or unfavorable charteristics. Furthermore, stereotypes combine untruths with grains of truth to make certain asserted tendencies and traits appear reasonable. In the negative sense, they tend to omit or fail to sufficiently stress, certain favorable tendendies. Stereotypes also fail to show how groups share the same tendencies or perhaps demonstrate the same characteristics. They do not identify the cause of the minority group tendencies--often pressure by the majority group, through their stereotyping, creates the very characteristics they condemn. Stereotypes leave little room for either change or individual variation. Despite these weaknesses and because the members of a group do not readily question the definitions passed down by their culture, stereotypes occupy a very dominant role in the pattern of prejudice. In addition, stereotypes are useful and effective weapons in keeping minority groups in low status positions.

4. Discrimination:

Although they are closely related, prejudice must not be equated with discrimination. According to Simpson and Yinger (1972) discrimination ordinarily refers to the overt expression of prejudice. There is considerable consensus in the way that various scholars have defined the concept of discrimination. For example, Williams (1947) produced the following definition:

> Discrimination may be said to exist to the degree that individuals of a given group who are otherwise formally qualified are not treated in conformity with these normally universal institutionalized codes (p. 39).

An official memorandum of the United Nations (1949) defines the issue as follows:

> Discrimination includes any conduct based on a distinction made on grounds of natural or social categories, which have no relation either to individual capacities or merits, or to the concrete behavior of the individual person (p. 9).

The United Nations places great emphasis on the denial of equal treatment to individuals or groups of people. Antonovsky (1960) states that discrimination may be defined as "the effective injurious treatment of persons on grounds rationally irrelevant to the situation" (p. 81). To Hynam (1969) racial discrimination indicates "the differental treatment of individuals considered to belong to a particular social group" (p. 5). Kinloch (1974) describes discrimination as:

> . . . applied prejudice in which negative social définitions are translated into action and political policy through the subordination of minorities and deprivation of their political, social, and economic rights (p. 54).

Allport (1958) states that any negative attitude tends to express itself in action and the more intense the attitude, the more likely it is "to result in vigorously hostile action" (p. 14). Allport distinguishes five degrees of progressively negative action, one of which is discrimination. Anilocution is the least vigorous form of expressing a negative attitude. It refers to friends expressing corresponding antagonisms freely without proceeding beyond a mild degree of antipathy. The ensuing degree of negative action is avoidance, which occurs when the prejudiced person avoids all members of the disliked group. Although the bearer of prejudice does not directly inflict harm upon the group he dislikes, avoidance could at times be of considerable inconvenience to the bearer. The following course of negative action of the prejudiced person is discrimination. According to the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, (1949) discrimination takes place when detrimental distinctions of an active sort are made. The bearer of prejudice undertakes to exclude all members of the specific group from various opportunities and privileges. Allport mentions further that under conditions of emotional accentuation, prejudice may lead to physical attack. The fourth degree then, refers to acts of violence or semi-violence. The final and most extreme degree in the expression of prejudice is extermination, with the death of out-group members as the ultimate objective.

Simpson and Yinger (1972) realize that no single expression of the relationship between prejudice and discrimination is adequate. They therefore, suggest the following dimensions of associations:

1. There can be prejudice without discrimination.
2. There can be discrimination without prejudice.
3. Discrimination can be among the causes of prejudice.
4. Prejudice can be among the causes of discrimination.
5. Probably most frequently they are mutually reinforcing (p. 29).

Van den Berghe (1967) notes that in a society where social pressures and rewards for racism are absent, racial prejudice is more likely to be restricted to those people for whom it fulfills a psychological need and that they may refrain from discriminating to avoid social disapproval. Hynam (1969) affirms that there are people that are highly prejudiced, "but so civilized and cultured in the popular sense of the word, that they would bend over backwards rather than discriminate racially" (p. 5). Others again, who may not have any prejudices against a particular group, will discriminate if they are to benefit by so doing. Merton (1949) refers to the prejudiced person in a tolerant society, where prejudice and discrimination are not sanctioned, as the "prejudiced nondiscriminator". He refers to the "unprejudiced discriminator", on the other hand, as the person who discriminates without any personal prejudices against those whom he discriminates. The fifth dimension of association is nowhere as evident as in a racist society where racial bigotry and discrimination are constantly rewarded, while tolerance, "color blindness" and liberalism are punished (van den Berghe, 1967). Van den Berghe, notes that in such a society the dominant group exhibits both prejudice and discrimination.

According to Rose (1948) "prejudice is a set of attitudes which causes, supports, or justifies discrimination" (p. 1). Allport (1958) also has pointed out that prejudice could develop into discrimination. If antilocution reaches a high degree of intensity, the chances of it relating to open and active discrimination and possibly to violence, are considerable. Simpson and Yinger (1972) indicate however, that the opposite is also true. There is evidence that prejudice is in part the result of discrimination. This situation occurs when a person rationalizes his guilt feelings that arise when one has treated another unfairly.

Hynam (1969) makes an interesting point by distinguishing between prejudice and discrimination on moral grounds. To Hynam, prejudice is a disease, a disability. Morality cannot be involved unless there is a choice and there can be no choice in the case of a person "crippled" by prejudice. Discrimination, however, does involve a choice and therefore is a question of morals.

Allport (1958) states that anti-discriminatory legislation may be an effective tool in the battle against discrimination and it may also have an indirect bearing on the reduction of personal prejudices. Although the law is only aimed at controlling outward expressions of intolerance, its outward action might have carry-over value in eventually affecting the inner habits of thought and feeling. Hynam (1969) predicts that in an atmosphere of nondiscrimination, "prejudice tends to wither and die" (p. 6). Grimshaw (1961) contributes to the validity of this statement by investigating the increase and decrease of social tension and violence as they relate to the regulation of prejudice and discrimination. He supports Hynam's notion that in the presence of "strong external controls" discrimination would be absent (p. 303). Prejudice, however, could still cause social tension in the absence of discrimination. Further strong external controls would be required to prevent social tension from developing into violence.

Santa Cruz (1974) suggests that discrimination may be harmful to the discriminator. In economic terms, discrimination could prevent full productivity of manpower and the consequent inability to fully capitalize on market opportunities. Discrimination breeds unhealthy social conditions which, "directly or indirectly, must inevitably effect all section of the community, including those who discriminate" (p. 45). Furthermore, the peoples of the world practicing racial discrimination, impose a heavy burden upon themselves by having to determine how, and to what extent, the people against whom they discriminate should be suppressed. The efforts of nations to gain goodwill and understanding through politics, international economic assistance, and participation in international activities, could be partially nullified by the domestic discrimination practised by those nations. In addition, prejudice and discrimination create action and, according to Santa Cruz, in this process both parties tend to lose.

Segregation is one of the most frequent forms of discrimination. This form of discrimination refers to "the voluntary or involuntary separation of residence areas, services, or other facilities on the basis of race, religion, or ethnic characteristics of the people using them" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1970, p. 374). Segregation "sets up spatial boundaries of some sort to accentuate the disadvantage of members of an out-group", and has frequently been used by the dominant group to prevent minority group members from attaining vertical mobility (Allport, 1958, p. 52).

5. Minorities:

Wirth (1961), a noted and distinguished scholar on the topic of minorities, defines a minority as:

> . . . a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination (p. 309).

It is Wirth's opinion that the existence of a minority in a society implies the presence of a corresponding majority or dominant group enjoying higher social status and more privileges. A minority group is treated and regarded as "a people apart" and is excluded from full participation in social life (p. 309). Wirth makes it clear that the concept of minorities is not a statistical one and minorities, therefore, are not to be judged on the basis of their numbers. Those people we regard as a minority may, from a numerical point of view, be in the majority. Wagley and Harris (1958) suggest that minorities demonstrate five definite characteristics. Firstly, they form subordinate segments of "complex state societies". Secondly, minorities have physical or cultural traits which distinguish them from the dominant group and which are held in low esteem by the dominant group. Minorities, in addition, are self-conscious of these traits and are bound together by the sharing of these special traits and the concurrent disadvantages.

Membership in a minority is inherent, even in the case of an absence of readily apparent physical or cultural traits. Furthermore, minority peoples, whether by choice or necessity, tend to marry within the group.

Wirth's (1961) analysis of the "objective" and "subjective" positions of minorities, displays a notable correlation with Wagley and Harris's (1958) suggested minority group characteristics. Objectively, minorities must be distinguishable from the dominant group by physical or cultural marks. In the absence of such identifying characteristics a minority tends to blend with the rest of the population. Wirth contends that a minority is debarred from certain opportunities within the society and this circumscribes the freedom and self-development of the individual. Their subordinate position is manifested in their unequal access to educational opportunities "and their restricted scope of occupational opportunities and professional advancement" (p. 309). Minorities are frequently the subjects of special treatment as it refers to property rights, protection by the law, right of suffrage and the right to hold office. In addition Wirth remarks that minorities are held in low esteem and are often the objects of contempt, hatred, ridicule and violence. Where a caste system has existed in a society for many years and has been positively sanctioned by religion and other institutions, an attitude of resignation to minority treatment, rather than a spirit of rebellion, is likely to dominate. In a secular society however, where class rather than caste produces the stratification system and where the minority status is of more recent origin, this attitude of resignation to their subordinate position is likely to be substituted with a tendency for resistence. Wirth (1961), is of the opinion that people cannot be discriminated against for a long period of time without developing a sense of isolation, persecution and inferiority. Consequently, it is not only the objective position of minorities that matters, but also "corresponding patterns of behavior they develop and the pictures they carry around in their heads of themselves and others" (p. 310). Although minorities are frequently in a conflicting relationship with the dominant group, it is their position of non-participation in the life of the larger society that marks them as minority peoples and perpetuates their situation.

Simpson and Yinger (1972) point out that although there are unique elements involved in the history of every minority, a few general principles are evident. Because a basic characteristic of a minority is distinguishable physical or cultural traits, "it follows that anything which makes a population more heterogeneous may create a minority situation" (p. 15). Diversified peoples have been brought in contact through migration, wars and through the effects of modern technology and this clearly accelerated the process of heterogeneity. Whether or not a minority situation would develop in a stable, isolated, homogeneous society is uncertain. Anthropological evidence, however, indicates that homogeneous societies demonstrate little group prejudice, with conflict and hostility directed at individuals rather than at supposed categories of people.

A second central factor in the origin of minorities is the development of the nation-state system. This system created the minority-majority situation and developed as a result of the spreading of one group's dominance over formerly separate groups and the "common desire to create a homogeneous nation" through cultural repression (Simpson and Yinger, 1972,p. 16). Wagley and Harris (1958) state that the primitive social organization did not contain provisions for incorporation of alien people with different customs and values into a single social unit. Only with the development of state, "did human societies become equipped with a form of social organization which could bind masses of culturally and physically heterogeneous 'strangers' into a single entity . . ." (p. 242).

Certain scholars have attempted to construct typologies for minority orientation. For example Wirth (1961) used a number of variables relating to minority problems, as a basis for his categorization of the different minority types. Among them are:

> (1) the number and size of distinct minorities in the society in question; (2) the degree to which minority status involves friction with the dominant group or exclusion from participation in the common life of the society; (3) the nature of the social dominant group; and, (4) the goals towards which the minority and dominant groups are striving in quest

of a new and more satisfactory equilibrium (p. 311).

In terms of these variables Wirth (1961) distinguishes between pluralistic, assimilationist, secessionist and militant minorities. A pluralistic minority is one which seeks toleration of its differences by the dominant group. Implicit in the minority's quest for tolerance is the desire for the different cultures to exist peacefully side by side in the same society. Cultural pluralism has been held out as "one of the necessary preconditions of a rich and dynamic civilization under conditions of freedom" (p. 312). An assimilationist minority refers to a minority desiring to be absorbed into the larger society and to be treated simply as individuals, rather than as members of a minority group. Assimilation, however, is a two-way process and it also depends on the willingness of the dominant group to absorb the minority. The goal of assimilation of a minority could prevail even in the face of majority disapproval. A secessionist minority is in favor of separatism and seeks both cultural and political independence. This attitude to their predicament as a minority is often the cause of frustrated attempts towards creating a pluralistic existence or towards undergoing assimilation. The goal of the militant minority goes beyond toleration, assimilation and cultural, as well as political autonomy. Their goal is set at a total reversal of status, with dominance as their ultimate objective.

Rose (1970) claims that there are four types of responses of minorities to their status and he bases his typology upon two vital questions:

> (1) Does the minority group member accept or reject the image of subordinate status imposed upon him by the majority? (2) Is he willing to play a segregated role as expected of him by the member of the majority group? (p. 62).

Using these two criteria, Rose delineates responses of submission, withdrawal, avoidance and integration. Those in a minority whose reaction is one of submission accept the subordinate role imposed on them by the majority, and they, therefore, are willing to accept their "segregated role". More often than not, submission to the inferior status suggests a rational acceptance--"a seeming necessity for survival" (p. 62). Berry (1958) says that "it is not uncommon for one to conform externally while rejecting the system mentally and emotionally" (p. 483). The acceptance of such inferior roles, to some individuals, is simply a case of conformity to the traditions of the community in which they were raised (Rose, 1970).

The withdrawal response indicates the rejection of the "segregated role". The individual accepts the image held by the majority of his/her group, and due to self-hatred and personal benefit, withdraws from his/her own group to join the dominant group. The reaction pattern by minority group members of avoidance, ascribes to the rejection of the idea of inferiority and submission. They consequently direct their attention towards avoiding the dominant group. Integration responses refer to the rejection of both submission and segregation. Those minority members supporting this approach take their place alongside the dominant group. According to Rose (1970) the proportion of individual responses to each of the above mentioned characteristic ways, depends on:

> . . . the degree to which they have been subjected to discrimination, the strength of their cultural heritage and the salience of their identity, and the extent to which members of the dominant group persist in maintaining social barriers between others and themselves (p. 69).

With the growth of nationalism and subsequent imperialism, dominant groups developed the following six major types of policies towards the various internal and external minorities: assimilation, pluralism, legal protection of minorities, population transfer, continued subjugation and extermination (Simpson and Yinger, 1972). According to Simpson and Yinger (1972), both forced and peaceful forms of assimilation have been evident in dominant group assimilation patterns. Extreme ethnocentrism is manifested in forced assimilation, with the minority being coerced into a homogeneous unit. Janowsky (1945) refers to this phenomenon as "national-cultural uniformity", whereby the minority is refused the right to practice their own religion, language and customs and has to accept and adopt the culture of the dominant group (p. 31). Peaceful assimilation, on the contrary, allows the minorities to "absorb the dominant patterns in their own way and at their own speed, and it envisages reciprocal assimilation, a blending of the diverse group, not a one-way adjustment"

(Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p. 17).

Some minorities are not in favor of assimilation with the majority and seek to retain their separate identity. If a dominant group ascribes to the policy of pluralism, the minority is allowed to maintain its culture within the national unit. Frequently this policy is the initial step towards ultimate assimilation. In some cases, however, pluralism is sustained and a culturally differentiated society without a majority-minority situation is accepted by the nation as a whole. Associated with pluralism is the policy of minority protection by legal, constitutional and diplomatic means. Officially this is pluralism, but legal protection implies that some groups are not supporting and accepting the policy of pluralism.

A fourth policy a dominant group could pursue is that of population transfer by which the minority, if endorsing a secessionist point of view, would be relocated. This process is directed towards the reduction of tension through physical separation and, since both the majority and minority approve, is peaceful in nature. The phenomenon of population transfer benefitting the minority, however, is quite rare and often this policy is manifested in the form of direct or indirect coercion. The former type of transfer refers to the minority being "required and forced to leave", while indirect coercion indicates a means "to make life so unbearable for members of the minority that they 'choose' to migrate" (Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p. 22). Claude (1955) declares that although population transfer might have proven successful in a few marginal cases, the over-all effectiveness of this process is insignificant. This policy is based on the monocultural ideal and in our age of mobility and communication it is becoming progressively meaningless. In addition, population transfer does not solve, or in most cases even reduce, the minority group problems and even when carried out in the most humane manner, violates various basic rights of individuals.

The policy of continued subjugation refers to the dominant group's desire to retain the presence of a minority while keeping them subservient and exploited. Conflict between groups could become so severe that the policy of extermination is employed--a policy aimed at the physical destruction of the minority. Simpson and Yinger (1972) state that the above mentioned policies are not mutually exclusive and that some may be practiced simultaneously.

Kinloch (1974) declares that "perceived physical differences are the most viable criteria of minority-group membership and are the most difficult to erase", and that race represents the most "macroscopic criterion" for membership to a particular minority and consequent differential treatment (p. 50). The work of Park (1950) is directly related to this area. Park has developed a classical formulation of the sequence that race relations follow when different races interact. In his view the majority-minority situation inevitably results in eventual assimilation:

> The race relations cycle which takes the form, to state it abstractly, of contact, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation, is apparently progressive and irreversible. Customs regulations, immigration restriction, and racial barriers may slacken the tempo. . . but cannot change its direction; cannot, at any rate, reverse it (Park, 1950, p. 150).

Social scientists, such as Bogardus (1930), Brown (1934) and Glick (1955), attempted to construct similar cycles as they relate to majority-minority reactions of different races. Lieberson (1961) makes a distinction between indigenous and migrant minorities and his work points out the lack of versatility in the above mentioned scholars' works. Because their works are void of indigenous minority and majority confrontation, it is understandable that their majority-minority interaction interpretation inevitably points towards assimilation. "For the most part, subordinate migrants appear to be more rapidly assimilated than are subordinate indigenous populations"--the latter are often resisting or being denied assimilation (Lieberson, 1961, p. 901). Lieberson explicates this occurance in terms of centripetality which refers to in-group morale. He writes that indigenous subordinates are often the numerical majority who have an established social order and no alternate country to where they may return. These, and other, factors contribute to the group's survival despite its objectively disadvantaged status vis-a-vis the dominant group.

Lieberson (1961) furthermore contends that the indigenous group is often culturally and physically more visibly different from the dominant group than the later migrant subordinates, because the latter are often selectively screened in terms of their similarity and presumed assimilability into the dominant group. Indigenous minorities, therefore, due to greater internal cohesiveness on the one hand and external barriers on the other, tend to maintain their separate identities. Migrant minorities, conversely, find the social and cultural barriers towards assimilation much less demanding.

Van den Berghe (1967) describes two types of race relations between majority and minority groups. He refers to the first system as paternalistic and states that it occurs in a situation where the dominant group forms a small numerical minority, but rationalizes its rule in terms of "benevolent depotism and regards members of the subordinate group as childish, immature, irresponsible . . . in short, as inferior but lovable as long as they stay in 'their place'" (p. 27). This kind of relationship is characteristic of "fairly complex but preindustrial societies" (p. 28). Van den Berghe perceives paternalistic regimes as:

> . . . extreme examples of tyranny over, and exploitation of, the many by the few. The relative stability of these regimes is partly a product of coercion but, at least as importantly, of close, intimate, albeit highly unequal symbiosis (p. 29).

The other form of race relations, referred to by van den Berghe, as the competitive type, depicts the polar opposite of the paternalistic type (van den Berghe, 1967). It finds substantiation in the urbanized, industrialized society with its complex division of labor. Due to the demands of the complex industrial economy, race is no longer used as the paramount criterion for job selection because productivity is of greater importance than maintaining the color bar. Class becomes more salient relative to caste and the gap in education, income, occupation and living style tends to narrow. The master-servant model of paternalism breaks down and is replaced by acute competition between the dominant and subordinate groups. Social distance diminishes and physical segregation is used as a "second line of defense for the preservation of the dominant group's position" (p. 30). The dominant group changes their image of the minority (lower caste) to "aggressive, insolent, uppity, clannish, dishonest, underhanded competitors for scarce resources and challengers of the status quo" (p. 30). Hatred replaces benevolence and scapegoating is used as a social outlet for bigotry in this situation.

The belief of innate intellectual inferiority of certain groups has a rich history of being used as a justification for their subsequent subordination. Aristotle, the Greek philosopher of the fifth century B.C., wrote that the people from northern Europe were brave but lacking in intelligence and consequently not fitted "for political organization or the exercise of power" (Santa Cruz, 1974, p. 42). Some three hundred years after Aristotle a Roman by the name of Vitrivius, described the people of southern Europe as possessing a keen intelligence due to the rarity of atmosphere and heat, while their northern counterparts demonstrated a dull intelligence attributable to the density and coldness of the air. Intelligence as a criterion of superiority and inferiority, has been advocated through history in the writings of such noted scholars as de Gobineau, Chamberlain, Grant, Baur, Fischer, Lenz and Gunther (Santa Cruz, 1974).

In modern times mental tests have been employed to solve the problem of mental superiority and inferiority of different racial and ethnic groups. Numerous mental measurements taken on United States' racial and cultural groups in the period from 1915 to 1935, indicated a definite difference between certain groups (Klineberg, 1944). A number of questions arise in connection with the interpretation of these intelligence tests taken on racial and cultural groups. Simpson and Yinger (1972) mention that one of the most important problems is sampling--finding test groups that truly represent the total group. Research has shown that the same test used for different test groups within the same race, resulted in considerable variation in median I.Q. Another factor that makes the effectiveness of intelligence testing questionable is the socioeconomic background of those involved. The task of matching individuals of two or more racial or cultural groups socioeconomically, is a rather difficult one.

Lehrman (1966) points out that studies have been done recently which indicate that poverty influences intellectual development. Mental development of childern in the slums, irrespective of their race, is affected by the amount of toxemia of pregnancy in the mothers prior to the birth of the child. Many of these mothers are not exposed to prenatal care and consequently toxemic conditions are not detected. Studies have also shown that poor nutrition, through the pregnant mother and of the youngster, inhibit mental development. Pettigrew (1964) refers to premature births as a mediator of mental development, while brain injury in the newborn could be another organic factor in intelligence. Both of these conditions are found more readily among lower income groups and variables such as these are not often controlled in intelligence tests.

Simpson and Yinger (1972) feel that additional factors, which are not regulated, influence I.Q. performances. The language factor has clearly demonstrated itself as a determinant in these tests. Studies show that various minority groups in the United States obtained higher average I.Q. scores on performance tests than on tests requiring language facility. Schooling has proven to be an important factor in testing for intelligence between different racial groups. These tests have been designed originally to measure innate ability, but studies have shown that the level of education has a strong bearing on the outcome of the tests. Other factors that should be considered in I.Q. testing are motivation, rapport, speed and racial mixture. Allport (1958) feels that many difficulties prevent the social scientist from making accurate interpretations from mental tests:

> Mental tests cannot solve the problem of hereditary racial traits until equality in social and economic opportunities exist; until differences in language are overcome; until segregation is abolished; until an equal educational level exists; until rapport is good; until motivation to do well in a test is equated; until fear of the examiner is overcome; and until other conditions are rendered constant. Hence at present time tests are of little value (p. 109).

Interpretations by three psychologists concerning research on intellectual differences between races, raised considerable controversy. McGurk (1956) suggests that intelligence tests prove that "Negroes are below Whites in capacity for education" (p. 92). His reaction to the socioeconomic environment theory was that the improvement of the Negro's social and economic status will not reduce the difference. Long (1957) questions McGurk's attempts at controlling the socio-cultural variables and points out that equal opportunities for both groups to become assimilated to the culture, similar incentives to master learning, and equal opportunities for goal-setting in the home and community should be controlled before one could conclude that native mental differences exist. Dreger and Miller (1960) state that through McGurk's dubious means of equating certain social and economic variables, he distinguished certain social classes from another--these classes are then used to compare individuals in different castes. This procedure appears unacceptable to Dreger and Miller. Shuey (1958) combined various studies of racial testing and arrived at her own interpretation of the results, which "all point to the presence of some native differences between Negroes and Whites as determined by intelligence tests" (p. 318).

Jensen's (1969) article featured in The Harvard Educational Review, which questioned the prevailing doctrine of racial genetic equality in intelligence, set off quite an emotional furor in the world of social science. In December of 1973 Jensen was given the opportunity to publicly respond, in Psychology Today, to the views of his critics. In this article Jensen indicates that all he proposed in his initial study was "that the average difference in I.Q. scores between black and white people may be attributable as much to heredity as environment" (p. 80). The opening statement of Jensen's 1969 publication includes the argument that groups which had been socially or geographically isolated from one another over a period of time will differ in "gene pools" and consequently in hereditary "phenotypic characteristics". Jensen (1969) then prodeeded to "link variation in intelligence levels to the 'genetic component'" (Kinloch, 1974, p. 38). Friedenber (1969) feels that Jensen attempted to produce a conscientiously scientific study by controlling various environmental effects. A great many effects, however, were impossible to eliminate since some of his data had been gathered by other investigators for different purposes.

Tumin (1963) claims that the following conditions--which were established by an educator (Henry C. Dyer), a psychologist (Silvan Tomkins), a sociologist (Ralph L. Washburn)--have to be met before any claims can be made concerning innate intellectual differences between Negroes and Whites:

> (1) The distinctive genetic, or 'racial' homogeneity of the Negro group being tested, as well as that of the white group being tested, must be demonstrated, not assumed.
> (2) The social and cultural backgrounds of the Negroes and whites being tested or otherwise being measured must be fully equal.
> (3) Adequate tests of native intelligence and other mental and psychological capacities, with proven reliability and validity, will have to be used (p. 9).

Chomsky (1972) is of the opinion that the relationship between race and intelligence is of very little scientific importance and its only social importance is evident in a racist society. To him the possible correlation between intelligence and skin color is of no greater scientific interest than a correlation between any two arbitrary traits, such as height and color of eyes. The empirical results of such a study appear to have little, if any, bearing on any issue of scientific significance:

> . . . the investigator of race and intelligence might do well to explain the intellectual significance of the topic he is studying, and thus enlighten us as to the moral dilemma he perceives (p. 30).

Another problem facing the members of a minority group is the effects of marginality upon their personality development. Theodorson and Theodorson (1970) describe marginal man as "a person in a dilemma, or a state of mental conflict, by reason of his participation in two different distinct cultural groups" (p. 243). Park (1937) states that these cultures are not merely different, but also antagonistic. Simpson and Yinger (1972) write that most members of minority groups are marginal due to their partial association with both their minority culture and the dominant culture. The degree of marginality is dependent upon

> . . . the height of the barriers to full participation, [with] the presence or absence of a minority culture to which the marginal man feels attached, and [with] the degree to which an individual is self-conscious of his status between two groups--part of both, yet belonging to neither (p. 185).

Stonequist (1937) indicates that there are some personality tendencies that seem to be associated with the status of marginal man. The strain of the ambivalent roles heightens self-consciousness and attention to oneself, which may become evident in the form of self-hatred and an inferiority complex, or which might manifest itself in the form of egocentrism, withdrawal, and/or aggressiveness. Park (1937) differs in his interpretation of these personality tendencies of marginal man:

> The fate which condemns him to live, at the same time, in two worlds is the same which compels him to assume, in relation to the world in which he lives, the role of cosmopolitan and stranger. Inevitably he becomes, relatively to his cultural milieu, the individual with the wider horizon, the keener

> intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint (pp. xvii-xviii).

Park (1937) views marginal man as an effect of economic, political and cultural imperialism--an incident of the processes of civilization and acculturation.

Marginality is not limited to the experience of cultural and racial minorities. Dickie-Clarke (1966) views the essence of the marginal situation as being explicitly linked with status inconsistency. In this form marginality not only finds expression in the minority situation but also in the views of dominant-group members whose incomes, occupational achievements or education levels are high but their ethnic status is low (Lenski, 1954). Marginality of the dominant-group members through status inconsistancy could be caused by a wide range of possibilities: high educational and occupational achievements, but relatively low income, or high income but low education, or high ethnic status and low income, and so forth.

6. Pluralism:

Literature concerning pluralism suggests two schools of thought: the one views conflict as inherent in the composition of pluralism, while the other tradition considers pluralism to be a necessary component of democracy. Van den Berghe (1969) proposes that the different approaches to pluralism can be attributed to the various degrees of pluralism the social scientists have been exposed to in their research. An appreciation of the origin of these two traditions will lead to the comprehension of the concept of pluralism and its different forms.

Furnivall (1939) describes a plural society as one comprising "two or more elements or social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit" (p. 446). Both Furnivall (1956) and Boeke (1953) agree that plural societies represent a stage in the development of colonial structures in their progress to "high capitalism". Furnivall (1939, 1942, 1945, 1946, 1948, 1949, 1956) based his theory on personal research done in South-East Asia and the Dutch East Indies. His theory of plural societies was developed by comparing pre-colonial and colonial periods of the same societies. Prior to colonial domination the above mentioned societies were integrated by common will:

> Under native rule everywhere, even in settled cultural communities, social and political relations were customary, not legal; authority was personal, based on WILL and not LAW, and both custom and authority were closely bound up with religion (Furnivall, 1948, p. 3).

Colonialism brought the west into contact with the east in an unequal relationship of economic exploitation and political domination (Furnivall, 1948). Furnivall's (1948) theory of the plural society, consequently, has been structured around conflict as it relates to discord and divisions between groups as a result of economic and racial differences:

> Everywhere, in all forms of society, the working of the economic forces makes for tension between groups with competing or conflicting interests . . . In a homogeneous society the tension is alleviated by

> common citizenship, but in a plural society there is a cleavage along racial lines (Furnivall, 1949, p. 40).

Contempory social scientists have accepted some characteristics of Furnivall's plural society, but they have also make adjustments to some unacceptable characteristics, Smith (1965) and Cox (1971) agree with Furnivall on two basic qualities of the plural society, namely, the domination of a cultural minority, and the social cleavage and cultural diversity between the two groups. Both Kuper (1969) and van den Berghe (1965) do not feel that the domination of a cultural minority is an essential characteristic of the plural society. Several of the recent pluralist scholars (Leo and Hilda Kuper, 1969), (van den Berghe, 1965, 1967, 1969), (Smith, 1965, 1969) have reservations about the utility of Furnivall's theory as it applies to post-colonial situations. Kuper (1969) concurs when he states that the term plural society is not simply a synonym for colonial society. The four main deficiencies of Furnivall's model appear to be:

> (1) Its total restriction to and identification with the modern colonial situation; (2) its correlated restriction to tropical latitudes; (3) its restriction to the era of European industrial expansion and laissez-faire capitalism; and (4) its restrictions to and identification with multi-racial communities (Smith, 1969, p. 429).

The second tradition of pluralism is associated with de Tocqueville (1838) and through him, with North American political and social science (van den Berghe, 1969). This tradition sees pluralsim as a condition for democracy

(Shils, 1956) (McCord, 1965) (Lipset, 1963) (Kornhauser, 1960) (Wirth, 1961) (Simpson and Yinger, 1972). The latter tradition suggests an ideal type of pluralistic society in which the different groups are living "in a balanced adjustment, which provides conditions favorable to stable democratic government" (Kuper, 1969, p. 7). Wirth (1961) claims that one of the four aims of minority groups for survival, is to become pluralistic. This would mean that such a group would strive to live peacefully side by side with other groups within the same society, while retaining their cultural identity and enjoying political and economic freedom, as well as equal civil rights. Aron (1950) underwrites the democratic tradition of pluralism and choses to use the terms democratic societies and pluralistic societies synonymously. Similarly, Kornhauser (1960) finds pluralism a basis for liberal democracy, and Shils (1956) also links pluralism with democracy in an analogous way:

> Every society is constructed to a set of spheres and systems . . . . The system of individual democracy or liberalism is characterized by an approximate balance among spheres. Liberalism is a system of pluralism (p. 154).

Broom (1960) recognizes this tradition of pluralism as being associated with North America. He uses Canada as the perfect example of this tradition and makes special reference to the French English situation in Canada. To Broom, the democratic tradition of pluralism is perfected in the accomodation of both groups in the distribution of power. This approach, however, conveniently disregards the existence of Canada's native peoples and the subsequent inequalities between the racial groups (Hoople and Newbery, no date) (Cunningham and Bickenberg, 1972) (Robertson, 1970) (Wuttunee, 1971). Van den Berghe (1969) feels that the relationship between democracy and pluralism "appears unwarranted" (p. 79). He substantiates his statement by referring to the racial situation in the United States, the country most frequently used by supporters of this tradition as an illustration of their theory:

> If there is one way in which the U.S.A. is a socially pluralistic society, it is in respect to 'race', and this is also the way in which it has been most glaringly undemocratic (van den Berghe, 1969, p. 73).

Rabushka and Shepsle (1970-1971) investigated the patterns of democracy within plural societies and became convinced that a free and open electoral competition is not appropriate in the plural society. They conclude that in a plural society voting hardens along ethnic lines and that the subsequent feeling of ethnicity leads to conflict, with intimidation and violence as a frequent result.

A great deal of ambiguity has been attached to the term pluralism over the years. The sociological literature is replete with terms which are similar in meaning to the word pluralism. Sjoberg (1952) writes about "feudal societies" characterized by cultural "bifurcation"; Nash (1957) refers to the plural society as a "multiple society"; Van Lier (1950) employs the term "segmental society"; Radcliffe-Brown (1952) uses the term "composite societies"; Little (1955) ascribes the term "social dualism" to pluralism, while Hoetink (1967) and Speckman (1963) prefer to call the plural society a "segmented society". This inconsistency can be attributed to two major factors: the different schools of thought connected to pluralism and the different research situations each scholar was connected to.

The attitude demonstrated by Tuden and Plotnicov (1971) is indicative of the dissatisfaction expressed by many scholars concerning the confusion surrounding the aspect of pluralism.

> Socio-cultural pluralism is no special condition that requires special descriptive methods and analytical tools. The term has been used to cover so broad a range of conditions that it has served more to obscure, rather than to elucidate our enquiries, and it is better to discard it . . . (p. 28).

Geertz (1963) demonstrates a total disregard for pluralism and dismisses it as "a cliche of commonsense sociology" (p. 117). Although this point of view is not generally shared by social scientists, they do, however, recognize the lack of "a systematic body of concepts and analytical propositions which could muster as a theory of pluralism" (Smith, 1969, p. 146). On the positive side, however, it is noted that a wealth of perspectives and hypotheses concerning pluralism has been produced lately, and according to Smith (1969) this is due to the "intellecutal richness" of problems related to this phenomenon (p. 419). Smith is of the opinion that the increase in interest in the field of pluralism will aid in the development of a theoretical framework of the plural society.

> Social science is a mode of institutionalized cooperation. Its theoretical structures are the work of many hands and form slowly. No sociological perspectives of major importance can be elaborated in an appropriate analytical scheme without undergoing continuous development in the process (Smith, 1969, p. 146).

As early as the 1950's it was evident to Shils (1951) that a theoretical framework of societies characterized by plurality in institutionalized systems, would become one of the most challenging tasks confronting social scientists. Fundamental, however, to the development of such a theoretical framework were generally accepted definitions and common modes of pluralism. From the time Boeke (1953) defined pluralism as "the clashing of an imported social system with an indigenous social system of another style" to the present, various definitional contributions have been made (p. 389). Two of the most accepted definitions in scholarly circles are by Smith (1965) and van den Berghe (1965), with the latter's attempt demonstrating greater flexibility and consequently enjoying wider acceptance. Smith (1965) describes pluralism as:

> . . . that condition in which there is a formal diversity in the basic system of compulsory institutions. The basic institutional system embraces kinship, education, religion, property and econcmy, recreation, and certain solidarities . . . . The dominant social section of these culturally split societies is simply the section that controls the apparatus of power and force, and this is the basis of the status hierchies that characterize pluralism (pp. 82,86).

Van den Berghe (1965) declares that pluralism is present when a society displays, to a greater or lesser degree, two basic features:

> 1. segmentation into corporate groups that frequently, though not necessarily, have different cultures or subcultures; and 2. a social structure compartmentalized into analogous, parallel, noncomplementary, but distinguishable sets of institutions (p. 1).

In addition, certain characteristics are associated with highly pluralistic societies: political polarization at the corporate group level, an uneven distribution of power, heavy dependence upon force (coercion) by one of the groups, the presence of conflict, economic interdependence based on the inequality of wealth distribution, "and rigid stratification based on status ascription and role asymmetry" (van den Berghe, 1967, p. 141).

Pluralists have also attempted to obtain uniformity in the application of the different modes of pluralism, such as political, cultural, social and structural pluralism. Political pluralism is acknowledged to ensure pluralism in the structure of authority by separating the powers among the legislature, the executive, the administrative sector and the judiciary (Kuper, 1969). Kornhauser (1960) asserts that this form of pluralism can only exist in the presence of a strong structure of stable and independent groups.

Cultural pluralism consists of institutional diversity without corresponding collective segregation, while social pluralism involves the grouping together of collectivities with "crosscutting loyalties and . . . corresponding values" (Kuper, 1969, p. 10). Smith (1969) adds that the grouping together of collectivities is into "distinct communities and systems of social action" (p. 444). Van den Berghe (1967) makes a questionable but useful distinction between social and cultural pluralism: the latter referring to ethnic divisions and the former indicating a social division along racial lines. The term structural pluralism, according to van den Berghe, is not used by all social scientists, because it is merely viewed as analogous with the more extreme form of social pluralism. Racial segregation and caste divisions, however, are associated with structural pluralism.

The work of contemporary pluralists bear witness to the fact that a basic theoretical framework is in the making, despite incongruencies in terminology. Kuper (1969) recognizes two widely different approaches to pluralism, and refers to them as the "conflict model" and the "equilibrium model" (pp. 8,10). He asserts that the major characteristics of the latter tradition refer to pluralism as an important condition for the establishment of democracy, while the conflict model is associated with depotism, frequently by a culturally dominant minority. Van den Berghe (1969) basically accepts Kuper's categories of pluralistic societies in terms of democratic societies (e.g. Switzerland, Belgium, etc.), and despotic societies such as colonial and slave regimes in Asia, Africa and the Americas. Smith (1969) identifies with the work of both Kuper and van den Berghe and uses the terms differential incorporation to indicate "one institutionally distinct section dominates the others, normally for its own advantage, and by various means . . . include naked force" (p. 434). Alternatively, a consociation type of social structure is also possible, as illustrated by countries like Lebanon, Switzerland, etc., where the diverse collectivities share the power.

7. Social Change:

Through history various models of society have been advanced as analytical tools to investigate different social phenomena. Kinloch (1972) refers to these models as "sets of assumptions concerning the nature of the social order" (p. 25). The phenomenon of social change, which Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) define as "the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system", has been analysed by means of several models (p. 7). The "almost continuous, often pervasive, and sometimes highly accelerated process of change" of recent societies, has necessitated a variety of analytical models (Inkeles, 1964, p. 27). This situation stimulates the crucial question of which model is the most appropriate. Inkeles (1964) indicates that:

> All [the models] are correct in part. Each holds a piece of the truth. No one is more nearly the absolute truth, because there is no absolute truth . . . Most models however, provide (more) general perspectives. Such models can only be useful or useless, stimulating or uninteresting, fruitful or sterile, but not true or false (p. 48).

The following models are most commonly used to investigate the process of social change: the evolutionary model, the structural-functionalist approach or the equilibrium model, and the conflict model. The evolutionary model of society is represented by a number of specific theories. Although the terms "model" and "theory" are used interchangeably, Inkeles (1964) distinguishes between them on the following grounds: a theory is more limited and precise than a model and ordinarily can be proven wrong. A model, however, as previously mentioned, can only be "judged incomplete, misleading, or unproductive" (p. 28).

The evolutionary model of society has generated a host of theories by prominent scholars. The unilinear theories of evolution include contributions by Comte (1961), Marx and Engels (1948) and Durkheim (1933). This form of theorizing assumes that society passes through a fixed and limited number or stages in a given sequence (Inkeles, 1964). Comte (1964) delineated three stages of social progression--those of conquest, defense and ultimately industry. In addition Comte describes parallel states through which the human mind has to pass in its progression--"the primitive theological state, the transient metaphysical, and the final positive state" (p. 1332). Marx and Engels (1948) maintained that each stage of civilization prepares the ground for the next stage, with feudalism the initial stage, capitalism the next and socialism the ultimate stage of social progression.

Durkheim (1933) distinguishes two main types of societies based upon their degree of specialization or in his terminology, the division of labor. Durkheim believes that an evolutionary trend is responsible for the development from a low degree of specialization to a high degree of specialization. The first kind of society depended upon "mechanical solidarity" which refers to a small community with a limited degree of specialization, with strong family and religious bonds as ties. To describe the second type of society, Durkheim uses the term "organic solidarity", which refers to social ties established through common interests and contracts rather than through personal and intimate relations. Durkheim's (1933) and Toennies' (1961) theories correspond quite well, with the mechanical society being likened to the characteristics of "gemeinschaft" (community-like society) and the organic society with "gesellschaft" (corporate-like society). Redfield (1947), an anthropologist, theorized along similar lines through contrasting "folk" and "urban" societies.

Cyclical theories are another set of theories representing the evolutionary model and pose as an important variant on the unilinear conceptions of evolution (Inkeles, 1964). Such theories indicate a number of stages or cycles "which any long-enduring culture may go through more than once, even repeatedly" (Inkeles, 1964, p. 32). Sorokin (1957) identifies three stages through which a society has to pass, and each stage is dominated by a system of truth. During the "ideational phase" truth is revealed through the grace of God and is based upon faith; During the "sensate phase" truth is dominated by our senses; and during the "idealistic phase" there is a synthesis of faith and sensation, with truth being dominated by reason.

The universal theory of evolution denotes that, although every society need not necessarily go through identically fixed stages, the culture of mankind has in fact followed a definite line (Inkeles, 1964). This principle is quite evident in the work of Spencer (1910) when he describes the progression of mankind from small to large groups and from homogeneous to heterogeous groupings. White (1949) holds that technology, with particular reference to energy and its use, determines the line along which society is developing. Similarly, Ogburn (1950) stresses the role of invention in the process of social change.

Inkeles (1964) indicates that recent sociologists, unlike many anthropologists, have largely abandoned the evolutionary model of society as a means of analyzing change. The structural-functionalist approach, on the contrary, is used much more extensively. This model basically "assumes that changes in any part of the social system will have important consequences for other parts and for the system as a whole" (p. 33). The basic emphasis of the structural-functionalist point of view is directed towards society and the interrelations of its institutions, rather than on individuals or groups such as the family. The evolutionary and functional views are not in opposition, but their interests and emphases are different. A major difference is that the former perspective tries to understand how the evolution of society as a whole shapes the form of the institution, while the structural-functionalists emphasize the contribution of the institution to the flow of society.

Van den Berghe (1963) mentions a number of events which are generally accepted as being indicative of a structural-functionalist approach. Firstly, societies are viewed holistically as systems of interrelated parts, ". . . hence, causation is multiple and reciprocal" (p. 696). Furthermore, adjustive responses to outside changes tend to minimize the complete amount of change within the system. This causes the social system to be fundamentally in a state of dynamic equilibrium. In addition, change tends to occur in a more adjustive and gradual fashion--those that do appear to be drastic, affect mostly the social superstructure while leaving the core elements of the social structure unchanged. Van den Berghe mentions that the functionalist point of view perceives change as originating from basically three sources: "adjustment of the system to exogenous (or extra-systemic) change; growth through structural and functional differentiation; and inventions or innovations by members or groups within society" (p. 696).

The biggest challenge to this point of view comes from those theorists who put "conflict" in opposition with "equilibrium". The latter, they believe, is the most important concept of structural-functionalism (Inkeles, 1964). Van den Berghe (1963) agrees with their emphasis and indicates that the majority of elements, as they pertain to functionalism, could be reduced to "consensus and dynamic equilibrium" (p. 696). A great many of the conflict theorists, consequently, refer to the functionalist approach as the equilibrium model (Henderson, 1964). Van den Berghe (1963) acknowledges the fact that functionalism is fundamentally based upon the equilibrium model, but Inkeles (1964) maintains the view that the equilibrium model is "a special version of the functionalist approach" (p. 37).

Those theorists ascribing to the conflict model of society affirm that rather than consensus "the basic condition of social life is dissension, arising through the competition for power and advantage between the different groups" (Inkeles, 1964, p. 39). Inkeles (1964) declares that the dominant social process is an endless struggle between those without advantages, who wish to acquire some, and the privileged who wish to get more or to prevent others from taking what is available. This condition of conflict, which is generated by constraint, often leads to change (Dahrendorf, 1958). Similarly, Sorokin (1957) declares that organizations experience many diverse forms of strains which in turn give rise to conflict and change. To Sorokin the process of conflict and change is eminent and universal within social organization. Karl Marx was the first major spokesman for this point of view and his theory of social organization formed the basis for the development of the conflict model of society (Olsen, 1968). Marx's theory is divided into three major components: economic-political dominance, social class conflict and dialectic social change (Olsen, 1968).

Marx believed that human history tends to follow the dialectic process (Bottomore and Ruben, 1956). Novack (1971) describes dialectics as the logic of movement and feels that it deals with an "ever changing complex and contradictory reality" (p. 71). Marx's dialectics indicate three stages of progression:

> . . . any given social situation (a thesis) contains the seeds of, and eventually gives birth to, a fundamentally different and opposing situation (an antithesis), which then conflicts with the original situation until a third set of social conditions (a synthesis) emerges that incorporates and unifies all previously existing conditions into a totally new (and presumably superior) type of social organization (Olson, 1968, p. 144).

The dialectic process of social change, in Marxian terms, is a result of conflict between the different social classes in their struggle for the domination of the means of production. Furthermore, Marx assumed that the less powerful classes will inevitably be exploited by the class owning the means of production (Olson, 1968) (Inkeles, 1964). Marx based his materialism approach upon his observation of feudalism. It was his belief that the proletarians would claim control of the means of production by forcibly taking it from the bourgeoisie. To Marx this development was inevitable, since "the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have the world to win" (Marx and Engels, 1948, p. 44). Socialism or the classless society, according to Marx, can only be cultivated through revolution. Capitalism is "necessary to destroy feudalism, but should sooner or later give way to socialism" (Olson, 1968, p. 284). The materialistic approach to Marx's philosophy of dialectic materialism, has been rejected by most social scientists for several reasons--one of which is its untenability in the twentieth century (Olson, 1968).

Van den Berghe (1963) disagrees with the common assumption that Marxian dialectics and the functionalist approach are diametrically opposed. Each stresses one of two essential aspects of reality--that of conflict and equilibrium. As a "synthesis" these two views complement one another as a means of analyzing social change in the complex social structure. Van den Berghe arrives at this "synthesis" through recognizing points of overlap and convergence between these two approaches. Firstly, both approaches are holistic, since they view societies as systems of interrelated parts. A second major point of convergence concerns the dual role of both conflict and consensus. Although functionalism regards

> consensus as a major focus of stability and integration, and the dialectic views conflict as a source of disintegration and revolutionary change, each of these factors can have the opposite effect (p. 702).

Coser (1956) shows that groups in conflict tend to strengthen their integrative ties internally. The opposite situation holds true too--"in-group unity is reinforced by inter-group conflict, leading to an increasing polarization of opinion" (van den Berghe, 1963, p. 703).

A third overlap pertains to the acceptance of the evolutionary concept of social change. Both Hegel and Marx saw the dialectic process as an ". . . ascensional spiral towards progress", while the functionalist perceives an evolutionary growth ". . . in structural complexity and functional specificity" (van den Berghe, 1963, p. 703). In the final analysis, both theories are based on the equilibrium model. The functionalist point of view and its connection with equilibrium is obvious and in the case of dialectics, the thesis-antithesis-synthesis sequence embraces the notion of equilibrium. Van den Berghe's point of view towards more effective analysis of social change is supported by Dahrendorf (1958), a contempory conflict theorist, who states that, "As far as I can see, we need for the explanation of sociological problems both the equilibrium model and the conflict model of societies . . ." (p. 127).

Conflict is recognized by social scientists as a predominant factor in social life:

> The notion that wherever there is social life there is conflict may be unpleasant and disturbing. Nevertheless, it is indispensable to our understanding of social problems . . . Not the presence but the absence of conflict is surprising and abnormal (Dahrendorf, 1958, p. 115).

Kriesberg (1973) describes social conflict "as a relationship between two or more parties who (or whose spokesmen) believe they have incompatible goals" (p. 17). Olson (1958) indicates that conflict is a generic process that contains a number of subtypes including competition, aggression, hostility and cleavage. Mack and Snyder (1957) produced several theoretical dimensions along which most instances of social conflict can be classified. The first dimension refers to instrumental versus expressive conflict, where the former is marked by opposing practices or goals and the latter results from desires to release tension, from hostile feelings or from ignorance and terror. Instrumental conflict is a means to an end, while expressive conflict is an end in itself. A second dimension is inherent versus induced conflict. Inherent conflict develops out of irreconcilable differences in a given situation, whereas induced conflict is used as a smokescreen. This form of conflict is purposefully created in order to obtain other objectives. The ideological versus operational conflict dimension of classification refers to "right" and "wrong" in basic values, and to the "effectiveness" and "ineffectiveness" of operational procedures. A fourth level is direct versus indirect conflict. Direct conflict involves immediate confrontation among opposing parties, while indirect conflict involves mediation through one or more third parties. A final dimension is based upon institutionalized versus noninstitutionalized conflict. In this situation the former pole is characterized by rules and restraints designed to keep the conflict under control and of some benefit to all involved, while the latter pole is unpredictable and uncontrolled by any larger organizational unit (Mack and Snyder, 1957).

Social scientists have given a large amount of attention to conflict and consensus as means of inducing social change. Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) believe that ". . . communication is essential for social change" (p. 6). The process of social change consists of three sequential steps--that of invention, diffusion and consequence. Invention refers to the process by which new ideas are created and developed, diffusion is the process by which these ideas are communicated to the members of the social system, and consequences are the changes within the social system as a result of the acceptance or rejection of the ideas. Change occurs, according to Rogers and Shoemaker, when the implementation or rejection of a new idea has an effect--"social change is therefore an effect of communication" (p. 7).

8. Sport:

Sport is viewed by many as an effective means of improving racial relations within a plural society (Brutus, 1971) (Thompson, 1964) (Huddleston, 1957). Edwards (1969) suggests that people generally accept the fact that sport has a socially equalizing effect upon racially and socially diverse peoples within a society. Park (1950) reinforces this point when he states:

> Whenever representatives of different races meet and

> discover in one another - beneath the differences of races - sentiments, tastes, interests, and human qualities generally that they can understand and respect, racial barriers are undermined and eventually broken down (p. 254).

Thompson (1964) is of the opinion that "Modern sport undermines any system of social stratification based on colour" (p. 12). These claims make sport sound like a humanistic institution but how valid are they in the real world of group and racial relations?

James (1963) alleges that the sport of cricket has been a useful means in the West Indies of overcoming class and racial consciousness. In this society with its heritage of slavery, ". . . it (cricket) provided a common meeting ground of all classes without coercion or exhortation from above" (p. 8). Brazil is another plural society with a history of slavery and in which a sport appears to be playing a unifying and an integrating role. Van den Berghe (1967), Wagley (1952, 1964) and Little (1965) agree that Brazil is subject to prejudice and segregation along racial lines. A great majority of Brazil's population, however, identify strongly with the national sport of soccer and the country's victory of the World Cup Championship ". . . served to develop a strong nationalistic identity among Brazilians" (Smith, 1974, p. 39). Beisser (1967) recognizes this identification with a sports team, irregardless of racial or ethnic differences, as a means to satisfy a human need of being part of a group and to feel closer to society.

In New Zealand, according to Keesing (1923), tennis was utilized as a means to reduce and eliminate acrimony between feuding Maori tribes. The Maori Tennis Association succeeded in breaking down age old tribal feuds by organizing nationwide tennis tournaments. The ancient conflicts between Maori tribes, according to Ngata (1940), became an amiable rivalry on the tennis courts and resulted in ". . . friendly intercourse which decades of diplomacy had failed to produce" (p. 164). This form of rivalry between Maori tribes were extended to other forms of sport, such as basketball, field hockey and rugby (Ngata, 1940).

Within the often referred to 'melting pot' milieu of the United States of America, the suggested role of sport as a social integrator and ameliorator of racial conflicts has been met with both support and opposition. Cozens and Stumpf (1953) suggest that common interest, loyalties and enthusiasms are the great integrating factors in a culture and American sports ". . . have provided this common denominator in as great a degree as any other single factor" (p. 229). Both Tobin (1967) and Young (1970) propose that sport has integrating effects upon ethnic groups, while social scientists such as Ricke (1971) and Shuttleworth (1972) imply that sport integrates communities.

After the assasination of Martin Luther King in Memphis in 1968, racial rancor reached unprecedented dimensions in that city. The success of the Memphis State University basketball team, however, caught the imagination of residents of all racial groups and their common identification with the team produced greatly improved racial relations (Kirkpatrick, 1973). Smith (1974) suggests that Detriot's World Series championship baseball team had an identical influence upon the residents of that city. The severity of the racial conflict in Detriot decreased as the series wore on-- "It appeared that the animosity that existed between whites and blacks was reduced to some extent, at least temporarily . . ." (p. 38). These case studies partly bear out Luschen's (1970) thesis that spectator sports have integrative functions both for the participants on a team as well as for their supporters.

Although many identify with Ulrich's (1968) proposition that sport and games in America ". . . make it possible to realize all of the tenets upon which a democracy is based . . .", scholars like Edwards (1969, 1973, 1973a), Olsen (1968), Hoch (1970) and Scott (1970) are of contrary convictions. Edwards (1973) claims that the general public is not aware of the true nature of American sport and they consequently regard

> . . . sport as the perfect embodiment of American ideals. It is the very symbol of free and open competition, discipline, hard work, good character, patriotism, and the Protestant Ethic. In essence, sport in America constitutes a quasireligious institution that reinforces traditional values and perspectives in American life . . . sports . . . have been universally considered a realm apart, a component of American life isolated from and immune to, the stresses, strains and incongruities that lace our highly complex social system (p. 43).

Boyle (1972) states that the institution of sport in the United States has ". . . often served minority groups as the first rung on the social ladder. As such, it has helped further assimilation into American life" (p. 259). As a low income and highly visible minority however, the Afro-Americans have not been well accepted into the mainstream of American life (Edwards, 1973a). Even in sport, where the general belief is that no 'social stratification based on colour' exist, racial integration has been a struggle. Those black sports pioneers such as Jack Johnson in boxing and Jackie Robinson in baseball, faced daily obstacles of racism in their respective quests to be accepted and treated as equals (Johnson, 1969) (Mann, 1963) (Goodhart and Chataway, 1968).

Several decades after the color bar in American sport had first been crossed, serious charges of racial inequality in sport still exist. Olsen (1968) investigates racial discrimination in sport on college as well as on the professional level and concludes that the black athlete is still disenfranchized. Edwards (1973) takes this issue a few steps further: to him the superstar status attached to some black athletes is not indicative of a healthy state of American racial relations. The contrary is more accurate ". . . sport offers little or no opportunity to the masses of black people in terms of social advancement and economic opportunity" (p. 44). Edwards (1973) points out in addition that the domination of blacks in certain sports indicates a continuation of black oppression in America. This form of domination does not suggest ". . . progress towards equality either in the larger society or in the sports world . . ." (p. 44). This domination suggests the acceptance of the black man's physical ability, but not the acceptance of him as an equal. Within this context Edwards (1973) deplores these quasi-scientific analyses of the black man's supposed physical superiority and articles such as Kane's (1971) assessment of black physical superiority are believed to be damaging to the intellectual image of the Afro-Americans and their quest for emancipation. These articles tend to reinforce those stereotypes used by many as justification for their racist attitudes and practices.

Edwards (1969) recognizes the possibilities sport offers for social changes. A revolt by Blacks is needed in America for true racial equality and sport is an excellent medium, since it is relatively free of bloodshed. Hoch (1970) implies that the plight of the Black Americans received world-wide exposure during the 1968 Olympic Games, following a proposed Afro-American boycott and the eventual actions of some of the black American medal winners. Substantial solidarity with the black cause was manifested by many white Olympians (Hoch, 1970). Even in its most unconventional form as a change agent, sport seemed to have some positive influence upon racial relations. Prentice Gautt expresses his confidence in sport by asking if racial prejudice and discrimination cannot be solved in sport, where could they be solved? (Olson, 1968).

Thompson (1964) realizes that, in the final analysis, sport could either contribute to better human relation or it could be used as a means of polarizing racial groups.

> . . . sports competitions which subordinate non-racial ethics and the requirements of good sportmanship to local and national prejudices, heighten the awareness and accentuate the divisions between white and coloured peoples. (Conversely) . . . sport can provide a context in which distinctions of race, class, nationality and religion are irrelevant . . . The values which are dominant will determine on each occasion whether the role of sport is to unite or divide (pp. 72, 73).

RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Jooste (1972) states that the racial factor in Southern Africa manifests itself stronger than in any other part of the world. This is mainly due to a long past of "racial mixing, cultural conflict, political grouping and regrouping," of various human sub-species (p. 10). Van den Berghe (1967) is even more explicit on the race relations situation in South Africa:

> If racism is an endemic disease in the United States, in South Africa it has become a way of life. Of all contemporary multi-racial societies, South Africa is the most complexly and rigidly stratified on the basis of race, the one in which race has greatest salience vis a vis other structural principles, and the one which is most ridden with conflict and internal contradictions (p. 96).

Duggan (1973) suggests that the problems of race are pervasive throughout the South African social structure, "and this pervasiveness means that the question of racial association or conflict is the dominant theme" (p. 9). The complex racial structure has an odd mixture of "fear and hate, of trust and distrust, of admiration and envy, of de facto integration and de jure segregation" (Duggan, 1973, p. 9). Randall (1970) declares that the diversity of the plural South African society, is expressed in terms of race, nationalism, culture and tribalism. Van den Berghe (1965a) contends that the deepest cleavage in the structure of the South African society is "the racial one which divides the population into four main antagonistic and hierarchial color-castes" (p. 79).

Du Toit (1966) proposes that the contact of the various racial groups in South Africa resulted in a caste system. It was preceded, however, by the formation of classes which merely acted as a necessary transitional phase. Du Toit's (1966) hypothesis claims that the contact of the various racial and cultural groups produced "the emergence of a class structure which, with increased rigidity, developed into the present caste system which characterises the social stratification of this country" (p. 197). (For a profile on races and ethnic groups, see Definition of Terms under Nation and Race.)

1. Initial Contact and Stratification:

The Portugese, in the process of establishing a passage around the Cape, became the first Whites to go ashore in South Africa. The Dutch, however, set up the first permanent settlement in 1652, some 164 years after the Portugese explorers landed at the Cape of Good Hope (Duggan, 1973). The permanent settlement started as a supply station for the

Asia-bound vessels of the Dutch East India COmpany. Van den Berghe (1967) suggests that the local population consisted of sparsely settled Hottentot pastoralists and Bushmen hunters and gatherers. Initially religion, rather than race, was the basis for status differentiation between the Dutch and the indigenous population and as such baptism granted "legal and, to a considerable extent, social equality with the Dutch settlers" (p. 96). In 1658 slaves from Madagascar, East Africa and the Dutch East Indies were brought to the Cape in response to the settlers' request for a reliable work force. (van den Berghe, 1967).

During the early years of Dutch settlement, marriages between Whites and slaves, as well as between Whites and Hottentots, were socially approved and sanctioned. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, Whites were prohibited from marrying "full- colour" slaves while legal unions between Whites and half-breeds were allowed (MacCrone, 1957). Du Toit (1966) suggests that this situation "produced a class structure where the racial background was not the primary factor" (p. 200). The very fact of slaves and slave-owners within the society created an accepted class structure--the Whites were soon identified with owning slaves and consequently upper-class, while all non-Whites formed the inferior class.

Contact between the classes at this stage was possible and particularly so between the upper class males and inferior females. Marriage, however, was restricted to "the common artisan and small homesteader", and such unions were permissable and accepted (du Toit, 1966, p. 200). To van den Berghe (1967) this form of society illustrated most of the characteristics of a paternalistic type of race relations, not unlike the slave systems of the New World. "Masters and house slaves lived together in the big house, played together as children, and prayed and fornicated together as adults" (p. 97). Sparrman (1785), on a visit to the Cape of Good Hope, was introduced by a farmer to

> . . . a list . . . of the constant order of the precedence in love, which ought to be observed among the fair sex in Africa: . . . First the Madagascar women, who were the blackest and handsomest, next to these the Malabars, then the Bugunese or Malays, after these the Hottentots, and last and worst of all, the white Dutch women (p. 75).

Although spacial segregation was minimal, unequal status was symbolized and maintained through mechanisms of social control. Miscegenation between Dutch males and slaves as well as Hottentot women was common and accepted--from extensive miscegenation between Dutchmen, slaves and "free men of color, such as Hottentots and Malay political exiles from East India," the Cape Coloured peoples evolved (van den Berghe, 1967, p. 98).

According to MacCrone (1957), racial attitudes on the part of the Whites showed very definite changes during the eighteenth century. The class distinction was changed to a situation where the white man and his civilization was contrasted with the non-white and his way of life. Du Toit (1966) suggests that while the class system was still in operation in the Cape, partly due to the presence of the Coloured population, the conservative group that trekked inland (Voortrekkers) and their descendants cultivated the caste system.

The year 1795 saw the British take over the Cape settlement, while the "up-country burghers" refused to submit (Kinloch, 1972, p. 87). In 1803 the Cape was duly handed back to the Dutch, only to be re-annexed by the British three years later. By this time, after a century and a half of Dutch rule, the Cape colony had a population of roughly 26,000 settlers, 30,000 slaves and 20,000 "free" Coloureds in White employment (Bunting, 1971). The white contingent in the Cape consisted of some English and a majority of Boers. The latter, during the Great Trek, were also referred to as Voortrekkers and later, as independent citizens of the two Republics, became known as Afrikaners. The stock developed out of the Dutch and French Hugenots, who fled to the Cape of Good Hope in 1688 (Duggan, 1973). British rule, under Lord Somerset, put its policy of planned cultural change into action by emancipating the Hottentots in 1828 and the slaves five years later. By 1835 the first wagons started moving northward as the Great Trek began in earnest (du Toit, 1966).

One of the reasons for the Great Trek, according to Bunting (1971), was the colonists' resentment of authority, particularly since the authority was the British. Both Bunting (1971) and du Toit (1966) stress that the primary reason for this emigration was a reaction to the cultural change imposed upon them by the British. De Kiewiet (1942) indicates that the Trek was "pricked" by a deep sense of grievance of the settlers against the British administration. They felt that the British government's effort to apply the same law to all classes of the population, cruelly upset the proper relationship between white and black, between master and servant. Anna Steenkamp, sister of the Voortrekker leader Piet Retief, aired her feelings in a letter to relations in the Cape colony as follows:

> . . . the shameful and unjust proceedings with reference to the freedom of the slaves: and yet it is not their freedom that drove us to such lengths, as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and natural distinction of race and religion, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke; therefore we rather withdrew in order to preserve our doctrines in purity (Bird, 1888, p. 459).

By the time the Voortrekkers came in contact with the Bantu peoples, the idea of a caste system had been well established (du Toit, 1966). De Kiewiet (alleges that the emigrating colonists believed their superiority was a result of their race and faith. Van den Berghe (1965) reasons that the Calvinist faith of the settlers probably aided the process of increasing race consciousness. Weber's (1930) argument concerning predestination is used by van den Berghe (1965) to analyse the South African situation. According to Weber, man's belief in predestination, which is consistent with the Calvinistic ideology, leads to anxiety about one's salvation. To resolve this anxiety, one seeks for outward signs of God's grace. Calvin recognized material prosperity as such a sign, hence the connection between Calvinism and capitalism. Van den Berghe (1965) indicates that the "most obvious" and "almost inevitable" choice in South Africa seemed skin color (p. 15). The dark-skinned people were considered "heathens" and according to the traditional Christian views, darkness was associated with sin and evil. This approach has been Biblically justified: non-Whites are the descendants of Ham, who was cursed by his father Noah, "and are destined by God to be servants of servants, hewers of wood and drawers of water" (van den Berghe, 1965, p. 15).

Early racial conflict in South Africa was demonstrated by various major confrontations: the "Hottentot Wars" of 1659 and 1673, the "Kaffir Wars" of 1779, 1789, 1799, 1812, 1818, 1835, 1846, and 1850, and the "Basuto Wars" of 1851, 1858, 1865 and 1880 (van den Berghe, 1965). Kaffir Wars prior to the Great Trek, affected mostly farmers (Boere or Boers) who migrated inland in search of more land (Kinloch, 1972). Various historians support the views expressed in the State of South Africa Yearbook (1974) that the Bantu peoples "invaded South Africa from the North at approximately the same time as the first Europeans settled at the Cape" (p. 52). Wilson and Thompson (1969) however, contest this historical thesis. Their evidence shows that both Portugese explorers, Bartholomew Diaz in 1488 and Vasco da Gama in 1497, came upon settlements of Blacks with their cattle on the southeastern shores of the Cape. Furthermore, there is rich archeological evidence of earlier civilizations in precolonial southern Africa.

Van den Berghe (1967) contends that all history of South Africa, subsequent to the Great Trek, must be analyzed" in terms of triangular conflict between the Boers (later known as "Afrikaners") and the British, and between both these white groups and the African majority" (p. 100). His statement finds ample support in the white-black and British-Boer confrontations of the nineteenth century and during the turn of the century. The British annexed Natal during the middle of the 1800's, while the Boers secured the Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State--in both cases by force and at the expense of the black majority. The constitutions of the Boer Republics permitted "no equality between coloured people and the white inhabitants, either in church or state" (Bunting, 1971). The years following Boer and British separation, saw an increased polarization between the two groups (Kinloch, 1972). Despite this antagonism, the British immigrants rapidly absorbed the racial prejudices characteristic of the Boere and proved no more racially tolerable (Simons and Simons, 1970). According to Simons and Simons (1970) Cape liberalism, which stood for racial tolerance and equality, was accepted by few. Hoernle (1939) viewed this situation as the unconditional acceptance of a color-caste system in South Africa by a large majority of the white population:

> Looking back, we can discern in eighteenth century South Africa the outlines of a caste-society on a racial basis in process of formation . . . Since union, the caste-society tide has irresistibly been flowing back over the Cape and overwhelmed all but a few remnants of the proud old Cape Liberalism (p. 67).

Two important developments in terms of subsequent race relations in South Africa, took place in the colony of Natal around the middle of the nineteenth century. In the late 1840's Theophilus Shepstone, the British administrator, established his famous system of Native Reserves. According to this system, widely dispersed land tracts were set aside for the exclusive occupation of Blacks. This situation, according to van den Berghe (1965), served a dual purpose: making farm labor more accessible to white farmers and preventing the threat of large concentrations of Blacks. Subsequent legislation by the South African government, such as the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, expanded and refined the system introduced by Shepstone. The second important event took place in 1860 when the English government brought indentured laborers from India to furnish cheap labor for the expanding sugar-cane industry. The immigration of these Indians added to the already diversified racial population of South Africa (van den Berghe, 1965).

In 1867 diamonds were discovered in the northern Cape (Kimberley) and in 1886 gold was discovered in the Republic of Transvaal at the Witwatersrand. British imperialism and Boer expansionism were further stimulated by these added economic incentives and a major confrontation became unavoidable (van den Berghe, 1967). During the three year duration of the ensuing Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), 27,000 Afrikaner women and children died while interned in British concentration camps. A residue of bitterness among the defeated Afrikaners made domestic peace impossible and as a result political power was subsequently returned to the Afrikaners, while the English financial magnates retained control over the South African economy (van den Berghe, 1965). With the approval of the constitution of the Union of South Africa in 1909, the British Parliament placed the admininistrative responsibilities of the whole territory in the hands of the white population. The year 1910 saw "the political destiny of the Bantu peoples and their territories and of other non-white peoples . . . entrusted to the white nation in South Africa" (Jooste, 1972, p. 4).

2. Towards a Policy of Segregation:

Afrikaner nationalism and the instinct of self-preservation are extremely closely connected, and the latter instinct is one of the foundation stones of South African policy of apartheid (Rhoodie and Venter, 1959). Van den Berghe (1965) acknowledges the Great Trek as the starting point of Afrikaner nationalism. The Great Trek has been likened to the Biblical flight of the Israelis from Egyptian tyranny, with God protecting and guiding His Chosen People back to eventual independence. The Afrikaners fled from British oppression, faced countless dangers of the wild frontiers, conquered the black enemy, settled the Promised Land of Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and later gained full control of South Africa. Van Jaarsveld (1961) differs with the previous view and considers British-Afrikaner confrontation during the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, as the crucial catalyst for Afrikaner nationalism. In both cases however, Afrikaner nationalism has been linked with self-preservation.

Rhoodie and Venter (1959) suggest that the Afrikaner developed, as a result of his instinct of self-preservation, a specific emotional attitude towards the numerically superior Bantu. This attitude has become a tradition with South African Whites and the apartheid idea evolved mainly from this psychological attitude-- "in other words, race preservation has become almost instinctive" (p. 36). In a parliamentary speech, minister Paul Sauer described the Afrikaner's instinct of self-preservation as follows:

> The Afrikaner's instinct of self-preservation is an incontrovertible fact. The fear that triggers off this instinctive reaction pattern in any individual group of people, is not the pathological fear of the mentally deranged, but that realistic fear which fulfils an essential function in the life of the individual or group (Rhoodie and Venter, 1959, p. 36).

Van Jaarsveld (1957) writes that despite the stimulating effects of several Boer-Briton and Boer-Black confrontations upon Afrikaner nationalism, national immaturity and British imperialism prevented nationalism from forming a consolidated effect on Afrikaners in all four provinces (Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State). Several Afrikaner leaders favored cooperation with the British and this further delayed the development of a uniform national approach to the race question (Pauw, 1946). From 1910, when South Africa became a Union, up to the Nationalist Party era which commenced after the 1948 election, several "political groupings and regroupings, coalitions and fragmentations" took place (Duggan, 1973, p. 7). During this period of unstable political rule and diversed identities, General Hertzog reactivated the question on native policy and suggested legislative measures to secure segregation. The Afrikaner aspirations found renewed expression through, and identification with, his policy of racial segregation (Rhoodie and Venter, 1959).

As Minister of Native Affairs in the first Union cabinet, Hertzog proposed a comprehensive segregation system of political segregation and parallel development of White and Black (Calpin, 1941). Hertzog believed that the native should develop in accordance with his own inherent capabilities and parallel to the White group, but subject to "the domination and rule of the European population in a spirit of Christian guardianship (Smuts, 1952, p. 125). In 1912 however, Hertzog, due to internal conflict, was ousted from his ministerial position before his ideas could be moulded in the form of a bill (Walker, 1937). Duggan (1973) credits Hertzog with formingthe "nucleus of Afrikaner nationalist thought and the embryo of the present ruling

Nationalist Party and philosophy" (p. 7).

The Nationalist Party was formed in 1914 under Hertzog and Afrikaner nationalism gradually grew stonger through its identification with racial segregation. The Nationalist Party became the mouthpiece of Afrikaner nationalism, organized Afrikaners on a Union-wide basis and "formulate[d] and articulate[d] their most important policies" (Rhoodie and Venter, 1959, p. 127). In 1924 Hertzog's Nationalist Party formed a coalition government with the Labour Party and after 1933 he joined forces with General Smuts' South African Party which latterly evolved into the United Party. During this time (1924-1939) Hertzog and his Nationalists introduced bills, several of which were eventually passed, that were aimed at counteracting the "danger of being swamped by the Blacks" (Rhoodie and Venter, 1959, p. 135). The Afrikaner's traditional race consciousness found reflection in the words of General Hertzog: "Some or other form of segregation is essential, even if it is an artificial colour bar" (Abercrombie, 1938, p. 210-211, tr.). Hertzog believed that segregation as an answer to the native question could only succeed if the Bantu, under the guidance of the white man, could be trained and developed to assume charge of their own affairs in their own territory (Rhoodie and Venter, 1959). Hoernle (1939), however, indicates that the policy of segregation

> . . . suggests to all non-Europeans in South Africa a policy of repression in the interest of White domination, i.e. the maintenance of the present caste-society, not the abolition, or dissolution of

it, which is the aim of 'separation' (p. 158).

Rhoodie and Venter (1959) point out that a major weakness of Hertzog's segregation policy was that it did not make adequate provision for the national and political aspirations of the developing Bantu groups. Hertzog was quoted by Die Burger (December 4, 1925, tr.) as stating that "these native areas (reserves) will never become the independent or semi-independent native states which certain natives sometimes refer to". It became obvious during the Hertzog-Smuts regime that the segregation policy was not the final solution to the native question. After Hertzog dropped out of politics, Smuts' government of the war years became acutely aware of the short-comings of segregation and Smuts himself admitted in 1942 that segregation had failed. The general feeling was that the policy of segregation was too ambiguous and vague, as well as "too fragmented, narrow and not comprehensive enough to be successful in the long run" (Rhoodie and Venter, 1959, p. 147).

During the years preceding the Second World War, according to Rhoodie and Venter (1959), nationalist Afrikaner intellectuals started looking towards a policy of "rasse apartheid" (racial separation) as an alternative to the policy of segregation. As Afrikaner nationalism grew in the 1940's, "the apartheid idea came to the fore as the nationalist Afrikaner's uncompromising answer to the challenge of the native question" (p. 149). Under the leadership of Dr. D.F. Malan, Hertzog's successor as party leader, the Nationalist Party swept the 1948 election and paved the way for the implementation of apartheid (Duggan, 1973).

3. The Policy of Apartheid or Separate Development:

The Nationalist Party described its policy in the 1948 election campaign as follows:

> . . . the policy of apartheid which grew out of experience of the established White population of the this country, and based upon the Christian principles of justice (reg) and equity (billikheid). It aims at the maintenance and protection of the White population of our country as a pure White race, the maintenance and protection of the indigenous racial groups as separate national communities (volksgemeenskappe), with possibilities to develop in their own areas as self-maintaining national units, and the cultivation of national pride, self-respect and reciprocal regard by the different races in this country (Die Transvaler, March 29, 1948, tr.).

Du Toit (1966) refers to Dr. Eiselen, who became the Secretary of Native Affairs, as "largely influencial in the development of the present policy" (p. 202). Eiselen defined the policy of apartheid as follows:

> By separation I mean this separating of the heterogeneous groups, from the population of this country, into separate socio-economic units, inhabiting different parts of the country, each enjoying in its own full citizenship rights, the greatest of which is the opportunity of developing such capabilities as its individual members may possess to their optimum capacity (du Toit, 1966, p. 202).

Nel (1960), former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, indicates that segregation and apartheid are not synonymous. Segregation is the title given to "the practice of racial discrimination, which occurred before

1948. . . in South Africa" (p. 170, tr.). Apartheid, on the other hand, is the well formulated policy which refers to "separate development of white and black in their capacity as parallel growing socio-cultural and bio-genetic units . . ." (p. 170, tr.). It is the policy of color relations which has been conducted in practice since 1948. Minister Nel recognized the different segregation practices" as merely stages in the origin of apartheid as an embracing policy synthesis"(p. 171, tr.). Rhoodie and Venter (1959) share this point of view and refer to segregation as "a stage in the evolution of apartheid" (p. 147). Hoernle (1939) makes a clear distinction between segregation and separation (apartheid). Segregation "retains" the minorities in the same socio-political structure of the dominant white group, but subjects them to the denial of important rights. Separation, on the other hand, visualizes the different groups as genuinely separate self-containing and self-governing societies.

The process of racial separation in South Africa, according to Rhoodie and Venter (1959), can be divided into four phases. The process began some three centuries ago with "natural apartheid . . . White and Black existed as two autonomous, free-flowing units living side by side, each in its own territory" (p. vii). The first phase saw these two groups locked in conflict and wars and eventually resulting in the second stage of guardianship. This phase is recognized as an important link in the evolution of the apartheid idea, when "the civilized, more highly developed white man took the uncivilized, undeveloped black man under his protection, and began to educate and to uplift him" (p. viii). This interim stage of guardianship lasts only until the black man has developed enough to manage his own affairs "in a democratic manner, worthy of a civilized human being and without danger to himself" (p. viii). Only when this standard of development has been reached can the third phase of the process begin--the emancipation of the Bantu. It is of the greatest importance to both White and non-White that this phase is not "unnecessarily" or "artificially" hastened. The last phase which is also the last stage in the program of apartheid, refers to the final emancipation of the Bantu. This emancipation will cause the apartheid Utopia, whereby "White and non-White, each in his own homeland, will once again exist side by side as free-flowing units" (p. viii).

Different people have attached different meanings to the policy of apartheid. Bunting (1971) claims that due to this lack of consensus in interpretation, no suitable word has been found in the English language as a substitute for the Afrikaans term of apartheid. By way of illustration, Bunting presents the interpretations by the four Nationalist Prime Ministers of the central idea of apartheid. To Dr. Malan, the first post-1948 Prime Minister, apartheid meant the preservation of "the safety of the white race and of Christian civilization" (as quoted in Bunting, 1971, p. 24).

Mr. Strijdom, Malan's successor, interpreted apartheid as follows:

> . . . the purpose of the apartheid policy is that, by separating the races in every field in so far as it is practically possible, one can prevent clashes and friction between Whites and non-Whites. At the same time, in fairness to the non-Whites, they must be given the opportunity of developing in their own areas and in accordance with their own nature and abilities under guardianship of the Whites (Bunting, 1971, p. 26).

The next Prime Minister to lead South Africa was Dr. Verwoerd and his policy of apartheid, was presented publically in a speech in London, England, March 1961:

> We want each of our population groups to control and govern itself as is the case with other nations. Then all can cooperate as in a Commonwealth - in an economic association with the Republic and with each other. . . South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all by means of political independence coupled with political inter-dependence (Bunting, 1971, p. 26).

The present Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, describes the policy of apartheid as not only

> . . . a philosophy but also as the only practical solution in the interest of everyone to eliminate frictions, and to do justice to every population group as well as every individual. . . . It is not a denial of the human diginity of anyone, nor is it so intended. On the contrary, it gives the opportunity to every individual, within his own shpere, . . . to develop and advance without restriction or frustration as circumstances justify, and in accordance with the demands of development achieved (Bunting, 1971, p. 26).

Interpretations of the policy of apartheid by people and groups outside the South African government, introduce different rationals. The Cottesloe Consultation (1960), a discussion of race relations and social problems by South African member churches of the World Council of Churches, brought forth three interpretations of apartheid. The first interpretation indicates voluntary and spontaneous separation by two or more races in the country; the second interpretation coincides with South African government policy, and the third regards apartheid as a situation in which "the ruling group use their position and power to safeguard and extend their scope to the detriment of other groups (p. 23). The objectional elements in apartheid were discussed and the most serious objection raised against this policy was "that it implies a concealed form of discrimination based on colour and race" (p. 23).

The United Nations has indicated by its decisions and resolutions that it rejects the interpretation placed upon apartheid by the South African government, and condemns it as a "crime against humanity" (p. 1). Santa-Cruz, the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the Commission of Human Rights, describes apartheid as follows:

> Apartheid repudiates the concept of coexistence of the various racial groups. Its goal is not only to maintain, as before, non-whites in an inferior status, but to eliminate them totally from any kind of participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country, and ultimately achieve complete territorial separation (U.N. Office of Public Information, 1968, p. 1).

Friedman (1972), in a research study for the United Nations, interprets apartheid as a

> . . . historically accumulative and purposeful

> system of racial containment. Its operational components, each with its own experiential profile and time-frame, fall into four distinctive yet converging categories: a) racial prejudice and discrimination; b) racial segregation and separation; c) economic exploitation of natural and human resources; and d) legal, administrative, and police terror (p. 17).

Slabbert (1973), in a summary of the Spro-cas (Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society) Political Commission's report on South Africa's Political Alternative, indicated that the Commission recognizes political, economic and social domination as the major problem in separate development. The long-term goal of separate development provides little clarity about the distribution of power in the separate political systems, the theoretical possibilities of partition of land, the self-determination and economic independence of homelands, and whether discrimination would be eliminated in common areas. This obscure definition caused the Commission to reject separate development as a long-term goal to solve racial problems in South Africa. This does not mean, however, "that the structures at present being established in terms of separate development cannot be used for alternative political aims" (p. 10).

Laurence (1973), co-author of the summary of the Spro-cas Commission proceedings which took place in Johannesburg, suggests that a "non-violent means of eliminating racial discrimination and providing for more equitable distribution of the country's wealth" and power is needed (p. 16). The three ethical principles of equality, freedom and justice should be used as guidelines. Equality does not imply the equal treatment of all peoples, but rather that people should not be treated unequally on the grounds of race, religion or nationality. Freedom implies "positive freedom to shape and mould the environment . . . " (p. 17), and justice refers to the Rule of Law. In the political sphere the latter means:

> The citizen's right to freedom of person must be guaranteed by the government generally. Government may only interfere with this right in terms of prescribed and specific standards. Any dispute between citizen and government must be settled by an impartial tribunal functioning according to accepted fair trial procedures. (p. 18).

Terminology which refers to the South African policy, according to the present Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M.C. Botha, has changed while keeping pace with the needs and development of the country.

Dreyer (1971), describes the terms that led up to the use of the term apartheid. During the previous century the term no equalization (geen gelykstelling) portrayed the Afrikaner's repudiation of integration with non-Whites. No mixing (geen vermenging) replaced the latter due to the negative connotations attached to inequality. During the post-Union and pre-Second World War years, segregation became the leading term in South African political circles. Since the early 1940's however, apartheid has become the term most commonly used in reference to the South African policy. Botha mentions that through the years this policy has been referred to by several names: "segregation, apartheid, as well as characteristic (eiesoortige), parallel, separate, independent or multi-national development, distinct freedoms et cetera" (p. 3, tr.). Of all these terms, apartheid, separate development and multi-national development are the most frequently used at present (Dreyer, 1971).

Despite the common belief that apartheid and separate development are synonymous, Schlemmer (1970) makes a clear distinction. The overt theme and rationale of separate development underlines the cultural and ethnic pluralism of the basis structure of the South African society. Apartheid, on the other hand, reflects the total system, "including not only the element of cultural pluralism but also the system of legalised material, social and political privilege enjoyed by the Whites" (p. 20). Schlemmer is of the opinion that apartheid represents a policy which, for the present, is completely successful in obtaining its major objectives. Separate development however, "is completely utopian in that it can never be implemented in the form of an equitable geographic, political and economic partition of the country . . . " (p. 20).

4. The Political System and Apartheid in Practice:

Breytenbach (1971), a prominent South African poet, author and artist was victimized by the Prohibition of Mixed Marraige Act of 1949 by marrying a Vietnamese lady. He identifies the political system of his former country of residence both fascist and totalitarian. Van den Berghe (1967) points out that South Africa is racist, but not a fascist state. Some suppressive legislation and police methods give the country a superficial similarity with fascist states. South Africa lacks certain crucial elements of fascism: the abscence of a charismatic leader, a high degree of militarism, the effort of creating a monolithic nation within a single party and intensive propaganda in a collectivist ideology. South African apartheid, according to Van den Berghe, is a much closer parallel to the pre-Second World War "Jim Crowism" of the Southern United States, than to either Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy.

Adam (1971) asserts that South Africa is "not wholly despotic or fully totalitarian" (p. 233). The strong element of individualism in the Afrikaner history and tradition--which in an extreme form manifests itself in the distrust of all organized government, combined with a tendency towards pragmatism in the Nationalist rule--prevents complete totalitarianism. Although the South African government has not reduced political membership to a single party, "it has . . . drawn heavily on the armour of totalitarianism to suppress political change" (p. 233).

The political system of South Africa contains the fundamentals of democracy as it pertains to the White population group. In terms of the country's population as a whole the "South African policy is not a democracy but may rather be described as an oligarchic institutional structure, based on race" (Randall, 1970). Laurence (1973) agrees and adds that this racial oligarchy, which once contained representatives for all races, now represents the Whites only.

South Africa, according to Friedman (1972), is a "unitary, elitist, parliamentary, republican state, adapted to secure the supremacy of the white population" (p. 12). The governments of South Africa include the Republic Government, the provincial governments of Natal, Cape, Transvaal and the Orange Free State, territorial governments of the homelands and diverse local and municipal authorities. All these governments are subject to the Act to Constitute the Republic of South Africa, number 32 of 1961. The Republic Government consists of a State President, Prime Minister and Cabinet, Parliament of two houses, executive departments, courts and various statutory agencies. The State President is elected in an electoral college, while the Prime Minister obtains his position as a result of being the leader of the majority party in Parliament.

All seats in the bicameral Parliament are reserved for Whites. Senators are elected indirectly, while the members of the House of Assembly (lower house) are elected by white voters. Parliament, which once contained representatives (white) for all races, now represents Whites only. National elections are conducted under a party system from which Africans (Bantu), Coloureds and Asains are excluded. The active white political parties of South Africa are the leading Nationalist Party, the United Party as official opposition, the Progressive Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (Friedman, 1972). Horrell, Horner and Hudson (1975) in A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1974, mention three additional parties: the Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Alliance for Radical Change.

The United Party stands for retaining separate social and residential facilities for the various racial groups, as well as the right of the permanently urbanized Africans to own land in their own residential area. The Progressive Party believe in the "freedom of speech, worship and assembly; freedom of arbitrary arrest; equal access to courts of law; equal protection under the law; and the independence of the judiciary" (Horrell, et.al., 1975, p. 5). A qualification system is proposed as a means to decide voting privileges. The Democratic Party advocates a "twin-stream" policy. The one stream would be the Whites, Coloureds and Indians as an integrated unit, while the other stream would be the Africans in homelands. These homelands should be redrawn to become more viable and completely independent states. The Social Democratic Party stands for a socialistic, economic policy of fair distribution of wealth, free education, entrenchment of personal rights, a national health and welfare scheme and the abolition of censorship. The Alliance for Radical Change maintains that all people in South Africa should have a vote to decide their future

(Horrell, et al., 1975).

Since the present government sanctioned apartheid as its political guideline in 1948, "a vast body of legislative enactments have come into existence and are designed to butress the new policy of apartheid" (Rubin, 1971, p. 5). Hundreds of apartheid laws, according to Rubin (1971), have been passed by Parliament, while thousands of regulations, proclamations and government notices have been issued under those laws. In addition, numerous municiple city and town bylaws congruent with the policy of apartheid have been passed. The volume of the race legislation is matched only by its complexity. Richard A. Falk, Professor of International Law at Princeton University, who acted as an official observer for the International Commission of Jurists at the 1968 terrorism trial in Pretoria, expressed his opinion on some of these laws:

> I did not appreciate beforehand that these 'Bantu Laws' (the pass laws, the trespass laws and other regulations applied only to the African community) are of such character that only a relatively small percentage of the African population is in a position to comply with them at any particular time. These laws are of such complexity that someone with legal training could not easily understand the requirements of compliance (Rubin, 1971, p. 5).

The Spro-cas Political Commission alleges that the racial legislation of the Government results in the curtailment of personal freedoms, civil liberties and freedom of association. (Laurence, 1973). Both Friedman (1972) and Rubin (1971) are of the opinion that the actual apartheid laws speak for themselves, and they present some of these laws to illustrate their potential for undermining basic human rights. The following are some of those presented by Friedman (1972):

a) South Africa Act of 1909 and the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1961 - restricts membership in the Parliament to whites;
b) Land Act No.27 of 1912 - denies Africans right of ownership in land;
h) Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act No.48 of 1953 - prohibits trade unions among African workers and denies to them the right to strike possessed by white workers;
a) Group Areas Act No.41 of 1950 - requires that the population be assigned to separate areas and territories;
b) Population Registration Act of 1950 - compels persons to obtain a racial classification and be registered accordingly;
d) Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 - converts into a criminal act marriage between persons of different races, enforcing a caste system;
e) Immorality Act of 1957 - converts into a criminal act sexual intercourse between persons of different races;
g) Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964 - remove all rights of Africans in areas outside the homelands;
c) Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 - empowers labour officers to issue and terminate working permits to Africans;
b) Suppression of Communism Act No.44 of 1950 - unleashes the police to suppress dissent by linking opposition to apartheid with the furtherance of Communist objectives;
c) Bantu Administration Act NO.38 of 1927 as amended - empowers the State President to remove and banish Africans in the public interest;
e) Criminal Law Amendment Act No.8 of 1953 - penalizes political protest, including exercise of speech to change the public policy and law;
f) Criminal Procedure Act No.56 of 1955, as amended in 1965 - permits detention for 180 days without trial;
g) Riotous Assembly Act No.17 of 1956 - permits extensive restrictions on freedom of assembly;
h) Unlawful Organizations Act No.34 of 1960 - empowers the State President to declare organizations unlawful and dissolve them by proclamation;
i) Publications and Entertainment Act No.26 of 1963 - specifies as a criminal offence the freedom of the press where a newspaper strongly criticizes apartheid as unjust;
j) General Law Amendment Act No.76 of 1962 - broadens

the range of illegal acts of "sabotage";

k) General Law Amendment Act No.37 of 1963 - authorizes the detention of persons without trial for repeated periods of time;

l) Terrorism Act No.83 of 1967 - establishes the crime of "terrorism" so loosely defined as to leave the Government virtually a free hand to prosecute anyone it so wishes, narrows the right of habeas corpus, and substantially elimanates the defence of double jeopardy (pp. 17-22).

The Spro-cas Political Commission took particular exception to the Terrorism Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the pass laws and the Unlawful Organizations Act. These laws give the government virtually unlimited jurisdictional control over the individual and groups. Under the Terrorism Act a person could be detained indefinitely and be "denied the right to see his lawyer, doctor or friends. His case is not reviewed by the courts" (Laurence, 1973, p. 19). The law describes a terrorist as one who "encourage(s) feelings of hostility between the white and other inhabitants" of South Africa and who have done so with "intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order" (Rubin, 1971, p. 58, no. 282). A terrorist in South Africa is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by death.

The Suppression of Communism Act was initially introduced as a weapon against communism. It has, however, been used against non-communist opponents of racial discrimination in South Africa and "it provides for restrictions and bannings not subject to review by the courts. The Minister's option is final" (Laurence, 1973). Communism, under South African law, is among other things

> . . . any doctrine or scheme which aims at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between the European and non-European races of the Republic, the consequences of which are calculated to further the achievement (of) bringing about social change in the Republic by the threat of unlawful acts or omissions (Rubin, 1971, p. 41, no. 190).

The State of South Africa Yearbook (1974) indicates that the pass system for the Bantu was introduced 150 years ago by the British colonial government in the Cape. This measure was implemented in order to "control the influx of Bantu into the White areas" (p. 63). Under the Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Consolidation of Documents) Act of 1952, the Government reduced the number of documents a Bantu had to carry on his person to a single reference book. The reference book system "is in the interest of the Bantu", since the abolition of this system could lead to the overloading of the urban labor market by the influx of the urban Bantu (p. 63). The reference book contains, among other material, information on its carrier's right to be in a specific area. Without the necessary permit from the Bantu Commissioner to be in an area of which he is not a resident, the guilty party could be fined a maximum of $840 or inprisoned for a period not exceeding three years (Rubin, 1971).

The Unlawful Organizations Act according to the Spro-cas Political Committee "constitutes an invasion of freedom of association per se" (Laurence, 1973, p. 20). Several political organizations have been banned from South Africa in the past: the Communist Party, the African National

Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Defence and Aid. The Committee recognizes the fact that under certain conditions the banning of an organization is justified, but at the same time "when political organizations do attempt to subvert the state this is often prima facie evidence of a serious need for reform in the political system" (Laurence, 1973, p. 20).

Apart from the Publications and Entertainment Act, there are approximately twenty-five laws which infringe upon the freedom of the press in South Africa (Ginwala, 1974). Ginwala (1974) concludes that "a free press cannot exist outside a free society, and South Africa is not free" (p. 31). The editor of the Sunday Times, in an article on press freedom in the Sunday Times of March 21, 1972, allowed that the secret behind "first-class freedom" of the press is the acceptance of the political situation and to

> operate within that framework . . . The non-white newspapers cannot deal honestly with those political issues because if they did, they would soon be regarded as 'agitators' and 'incitors'.

Ginwala (1974) declares that the South African press (both black and white) is almost exclusively white-owned and controlled. To prevent direct censorship from the government the press agreed to a Code of Conduct, the final clause of which reads:

> While the press retains its traditional rights of criticism, comment should take cognizance of the complex racial problems in South Africa, the general good and safety of the country and its people (Ginwala, 1974, p. 36).

Worrall (1972) indicates, however, that although censorship in South Africa presents itself as "a source of irritation and anger to a very considerable section of the English as well as Afrikaans-speeking intelligentsia, [it] does not affect news reporting" (p. 568). In this regard Worrall refers to The Star of July 22, 1971, which contained eight news items dealing with international attitudes towards South Africa. Moreover, overseas newspapers, particularly British newspapers, as well as leading news magazines are freely available in South Africa.

The prime minister of South Africa, Mr. B.J. Vorster, stated on November 20, 1970 in Bloemfontein that he would "scrap discriminatory measures when they no longer served any purpose" (Comment and Opinion, November 29, 1974). Dr. Hilgard Muller, minister of Foreign Affairs, said that "South Africa can move away from racism and unnecessary discrimination and it is the government's task to take the lead" (Race Relations News, December, 1974). A number of the major city councils, however, have taken some kind of lead in efforts towards eliminating certain forms of discrimination. Towards the end of 1973 the Johannesburg City Council set up ad hoc committees to investigate "petty apartheid" in demarcated areas (Horrell, 1975). Van den Berghe (1970) refers to petty apartheid as microsegregation and describes it as segregation in "public and private facilitities (such as waiting rooms, railway carriages, post-office counters, washrooms) located in areas inhabited by members of several 'racial' groups" (p. 210).

Mulder (1972), the present Minister of Information and of the Interior, identifies the concept of petty apartheid as purporting "separate schools, residential areas, buses, taxis, train coaches, hospitals, etc." (p. 61). Dr. Mulder points out that these practices are not confined to the South African situation and that the Government is honest enough to acknowledge that these practices are necessary to prevent friction. Petty apartheid then as viewed by Mulder:

> . . . is based on pragmatism and realism, and the fruit of this realism is reaped in peaceful co-existence, with an excellent record of stable government, and dynamic growth and development in the interest of all peoples (1972, p. 61).

During these above mentioned investigations it became apparent that petty apartheid caused the South African non-Whites great distress. The chairman of the city of Johannesburg's management committee remarked that

> We had not realized previously the deepness of the hurt petty apartheid has caused and how Black people over the years have had to school themselves to accept without protest offences to their dignity inflicted in the name of what is called the South African way of life (Sunday Times, November 25, 1973).

The Council resolved to take action, within their powers granted under the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, against petty apartheid. Resolutions included the removal of "White" or "non-White" signs from benches in parks; the opening of art galleries and museums to all races and the availability of municipal libraries to Blacks. Separate queues at places where municipal accounts were paid or licences issued were abolished; wider employment opportunities for Coloureds and Indians became available and the creation of opportunities for Blacks in municipal services, et cetera, were created. Similar concessions were made in Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, Durban and Port Elizabeth (Horrell, et al., 1975).

Worrall (1972) describes the South African Foundation as a private, supposedly non-political organization which has been established by South African businessmen to stimulate the flow of foregin capital into the South African economy. Dr. Jan Marais, president of the South African Foundation, poses some questions to the world in defence of South African policies (Comment and Opinion, March 21, 1975). Why, Dr. Marais asks, does the world object to the principle of separate development when other countries suffer from separateness too? Apparently the divisions between the two Germanies and in Ireland are accepted, but not the South African divisions. There is great concern for the liberties of the people of South Africa in the face of a lack of liberty suffered by various other peoples. According to a survey conducted by Freedom House, a New York-based, non-profit organization, 42 percent of the world's population (people from 66 countries) could be described as not free. Dr. Marais admits that legislation, such as "the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Affected Organizations Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, may be repressive", but in countries such as Russia "people could be arrested without a semblance of the process of law" (Comment and Opinion, March 21, 1975). As far as South Africa's racial constitution is concerned Dr. Marais feels that it should be accepted by the world, since constitutions of other countries based purely on race and ethnicity are accepted. To prove his point, Marais uses the example of the former British Fiji Islands where the British-designed constitution prevented the Indian population of Fiji from ever gaining more than forty percent of the parliamentary seats.

Rhoodie and Venter (1959) claim that the policy of apartheid or separate development is a "formula which touches all spheres of life" (p. 207). Prime Minister Vorster hints at scrapping certain discriminatory practices, but in the same address mentions that despite changes "the policy of separate development would remain" (Comment and Opinion, November 29, 1974). N.P. van Wyk Louw, the renowned South African author, infers that the stage of development has been reached where the question is clear: "Are we going to survive for the sake of survival or are we going to survive with justice?" (Race Relations News, October, 1974).

5. Apartheid, Homelands (Bantustans) and the Economy:

No other state in world history, according to van den Berghe (1970), has devoted so large a proportion of "its energies and resources in imposing racial segregation as South Africa has done since 1948" (p. 210). Mulder (1972), however, suggests that separate or parallel development is founded on the basic concept of diversity: "While it is not based on the concept of one people being 'superior' or 'inferior' to another, . . . it definitely recognizes people's differences . . ." (p. 62). Van den Berghe (1970) indicates that physical distance is obtained through three major forms of segregation, with macrosegregation representing the most explicit form of demarcation. Macrosegregation refers to "the segregation of racial groups in discrete territorial units, such as the 'Native Reserves' of South Africa, now being restyled as 'Bantustans'" (p. 210).

The minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M.C. Botha, admitted to the South African Economic Society that "Development of the Bantu homelands is the greatest single problem in South Africa" (Siedle, 1970, p. 47). Jacobs (1972) describes the homeland policy of the Government as a "gamble", since the "future of the South African Republic and all its citizens" are at stake (p. 157). There is little evidence, according to Siedle (1970), of progress towards the goal of halting" the flow of Africans to white areas, so that the policy was dubbed by many as one of 'Separate non-development'" (p. 47). The Spro-cas Political Commission recognizes this predicament which is manifested in the form of a vicious circle where the means do not justify the end. African labor is "vital to the country's economic growth . . . without economic growth there can be no development of the homelands and no real solution to the racial problem" (Laurence, 1973, p. 24).

The small reserves, according to Jacobs (1972), which were allocated for the use of the conquered African tribes, were initially adequate to support its inhabitants and the "Africans saw no need to leave their reserves and to work in the White economy" (p. 152). Through territorial conquests the Whites obtained land, capital and entrepreneurship, but labor was scarce. In the African areas labor was abundant but due to population growth, the reserves could not yield to the increasing demand. From both sides, therefore, pressure arose for labor to migrate to the white areas. "The great cultural gap between themselves and the Africans, added to the fears engendered by a century of conflict, made the Whites anxious to keep the African tribes as far as possible away" (p. 152). The need for labor on the farms, mines and industry, however, made it desirable to have the Africans close at hand. Legislation was introduced to restrict the right of entry to white areas and to limit African labor opportunities in these areas. The Spro-cas Political Commission claims that historically the reserves have served two major functions: "first, as a pretext for denying Africans political rights in 'white' South Africa; second, as reservoirs of labour for the remainder of South Africa" (Laurence, 1973, p. 22).

Dr. J.E. Holloway who headed the Native Economic Commission in 1932, advised the government that "It is essential that no time should be lost in developing the

Reserves and in reducing the present pressure on land by making available more land for Native occupation" (Jacobs, 1972, p. 153). The Bantu Trust and Land Act No. 18 of 1936 made provision for 7.25 million morgen (one morgen equals approximately two acres) in addition to 10,729,435 morgen already made available to the Africans under the Land Act No. 27 of 1913 (State of South Africa Yearbook, 1974). The point is made in the Yearbook that although only about thirteen percent of South Africa's territory has been reserved for Bantu homelands, seventy percent of the Republic "consists of mountainous land or semi-desert areas in which the Bantu could hardly make a living" (p. 53). The Yearbook further states that forty-five percent of the Republic's most fertile soil is located in the Bantu homelands.

Houghton (1962) indicates that the prime reason for the low productivity and poverty in the homelands is the incompatibility between the tribal system of land tenure and the requirements of progressive farming. The traditional agricultural practices, which were satisfactory while the supply of land was abundant, proved inadequate in the present situation where land is more scarce. Laurence (1973) indicates that all the land promised to the African people has not yet been allocated, but even when this has been done the homelands will consist of merely 13.7 percent of South Africa. The International Defence and Aid Fund (1972) indicates that under the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act "the whites allocated 86.3 per cent of the land to themselves and 13.7 per cent to the Africans" (p. 18).

When the Nationalist Party came into power, the Tomlinson Commission was appointed to investigate and make recommendations on how the Native policy should be implemented. "The composition and terms of the reference of the Commission made its findings in favour of the government's 'apartheid' or separate development policy a foregone conclusion" (Jacobs, 1972, p. 154). In 1955 the report became available and the Commission recommended that the only way out of the South African race dilemma is to consolidate the African Reserves and their sustained development on a large scale at the greatest possible speed (Jacobs, 1972).

The State of South Africa Yearbook (1974) refers to the implementation of the government policy as "Nation Building". A prerequisite for an independent nation" is the existence of an administrative body which can gradually assume ever-wider responsibilities" (p. 54). In order to create this "body politic" the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 were passed by Parliament. The basic idea behind these Acts was to prompt the interest of the Bantu in developing their respective local areas by creating local "Authorities-in-Council", consisting of a local headman and several councillors, and then gradually building up administrative organs with greater power over wider areas. According to the

Yearbook, "It was left to the Bantu themselves to decide whether they wished to come under the Bantu Authorities Act" (p. 54). The response was "encouraging" and in 1962 six Territorial Authorities were already in existence.

Yengwa (1971) notes that South African government literature on Bantu homelands creates the impression that this policy is not only acceptable to the African people, "but also a product of joint consultation between the parties and is the result of their mutual decisions" (p. 90). This impression, according to Yengwa, is false.During the years following its introduction, the opposition to the Bantu Authorities Act intensified. In a number of cases violent clashes erupted between supporters of the Act, those opposing it, and the police, with the result that many lives were lost. The judge presiding over a trial of twenty-nine tribesmen charged with murder after clashes in the district of Tokazi, observed that the Bantu Authorities Act caused deep resentment and that the Government should take note.

The opposition to this form of "self-government" was directed at the abolition of traditional ways of African authority. Yengwa (1971) explains the circumstances under which the Bantu Authorities Act was implemented:

> Despite overwhelming opposition of the people and their political organizations the Government has gone on with ruthlessness and force, introducing Bantu Authorities throughout South Africa. There is hardly an area where Bantu Authorities has not been established. In all instances it is the Chiefs, the paid agents of the Government, who are the cornerstone of Bantu Authorities . . . Those leaders who profess to support it either do so

> because they genuinely believe that by supporting it they will plant the seeds of its own destruction or because they have opted for short term personal and tribal gains. The Government pays handsomely those tribes and "leaders" who support apartheid and Bantustans (p. 93).

The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act was established in 1959 and through this Act the governemt "gave unequivocal assurance of its intention to create self-governing Bantu national units" (State of South Africa Yearbook, 1974, p. 54). The government indicated that although the Bantu Authorities Act was a success, too much emphasis was placed upon white supervision and the degree of self-rule of the Bantu areas was not clearly defined. Jacobs (1972) notes that the Transkei, a homeland with partial self-government, requested independence from the South African government in 1968. The prerequisites suggested by the government, made the long road to independence seem even further. The following prerequisites were proposed: administrative experience in management and government departments; control of finance and budgeting; a democratic way of life and a sense of complete responsibility; administrative management by citizens; provision of jobs and economic development by its own government, and "a firm desire for peaceful existence" (p. 156). On September 10, 1974 Prime Minister Vorster, in an effort to accelerate the process of independence, announced that the Transkei would become independent within five years--the first homeland due to receive the status of independence (Comment and Opinion, September 20, 1974).

The Tomlinson Commission recommended to the South African government in 1955 that consolidation of the approximately 260 "unconnected localities" must be considered a pre-condition for the successful implementation of separate development (Laurence, 1973). According to figures produced by the International Defence and Aid Fund (1972), these "black spots" have been reduced to eighty-two. The government homeland scheme makes provision for ten homelands, nine of which have already been established (Horrell, 1973). The Transkei is the homeland of the Xhosa group and consists of two separate pieces of land in the eastern Cape; the Ciskei (Xhosa) consists of nineteen areas in the eastern Cape; KwaZulu (Zulu) consists of twenty-nine areas in Natal; Lebowa (North Sotho, North Nbedele and Pedi) consists of three areas of land in Northern Transvaal; Venda (Venda) consists of three areas in Northern Transvaal; Gazankulu (Shangaan) consists of four territories in Northern Transvaal; Bophutha Tswana (Tswana) includes nineteen separate pieces of land in central and western Transvaal, north-west Cape and Thaba 'Nchu area of the Free State; Basotho Qwaqwa (South Sotho) is one consolidated area in Witzieshoek area of the Free State; Swaziland (Swazi) consists of two areas in Eastern Transvaal, while the South Ndebele group does not have a homeland yet (Horrell, 1973). (International Defence and Aid Fund, 1972).

In order to further implement the homeland scheme, the Government of South Africa introduced the Bantu Homelands

Citizenship Act, No. 26 of 1970. This Act provides every African in the Republic with citizenship of one of the homelands, which will provide him with franchise rights in his particular homeland' (Horrell, 1973). Internationally, however, the African will continue to have the status of a citizen of the Republic. Horrell (1973) further indicates that over eight million of the total fifteen million-plus Bantu population of South Africa, are located in white areas. The International Defence and Aid Fund (1972) states that the citizenship of the Homelands has been imposed upon all Africians, "no matter where they may be living or where they were born" (p. 20). An African is deemed to be a citizen of a particular national unit if he speaks the language of the area, or if he is related to any person in that area, or if he is associated with any part of the population there by virtue of his cultural or racial background. Under these circumstances then, the homelands have de facto inhabitants, the permanent resident population, as well as de jure inhabitants which refers to the de facto population plus all those classified as citizens of the homeland but who are living elsewhere in South Africa.

Coertze (1972) suggests that the future of South Africa depends upon the choice betwden integration and separate development:

> Any process of cultural change is given a set direction through the course of history. One can direct this movement but one cannot stop or turn it back. In South Africa the Bantu nations are subject

> to the process of westernization . . . There is only a process of westernization together with the White or one parallel with the White possible (p. 15, tr.).

The process of integration, according to Coertze, will necessarily be decelerated due to the century-old aloofness of the Whites from the indigenous peoples of South Africa, due to the white attitude of superiority based upon their advanced culture and due to visual physical differences between the Whites and Bantu. The factors of population numbers and different levels of cultural development would, furthermore, contribute to the deceleration of the accommodation-acculturation-integration process. On the other hand, there are certain factors favoring the process of concrescence, such as a mutual loyalty shared by both Whites and Bantu to their country of birth and the integration of large numbers of Bantu workers in the white economy. To Coertze (1972) the answer lies in separate development, providing great numbers of Bantu are "guided back in time to the homelands" and the Whites are prepared to work harder (p. 20, tr.). Statistics indicate that approximately twenty-five percent of the total Bantu work-force is utilized in the economy at any given time and half of this number is relatively dispensable (Coertze, 1969) (Naude, 1970) (Market Research, 1968).

The guiding of Africans back to their homelands includes the "clearance of 'black spots'" as well as the "removal of urban Africans" (International Defence and Aid Fund, 1969, pp. 14-15). The Deputy Minister of Bantu

Administration informed the Assembly on August 13, 1974 that since 1948 approximately 185,568 Africans from black spots had been removed (Horrell, et. al., 1975). The International Defence and Aid Fund (1969) claims that the process of removing urban Africans is in progress. The influx of Africans, however, has not been prevented, since the nation's economy rests upon its cheap and plentiful African labor. Research done by Hattingh and Hugo (1971) on the urbanization pattern of Africans, based upon the 1960 and 1970 census statistics indicates a marked difference between the 1960 and 1970 pattern: during the late fifties there was a strong influx of Bantu into white urban areas, while the present pattern indicates "a steady effluxion to the Bantu areas" (p. 130). Mrs. Helen Suzman, a long-time Member of Parliament for the Progressive Party, declared in the House of Assembly that

> . . . the mass removal of people in South Africa is a violence; the contemplated removal of 3.8 million superfluous appendages - to quote the hon. the Deputy Minister of Justice - is a violence; the thousands upon thousands of Africans in resettlement areas, leading hopeless and helpless lives of poverty and unemployment,is a violence; the very way in which those removals have taken place is a violence . . . (International Defence and Aid Fund, 1969, p. 1).

The Tomlinson Commission indicated that the success of the homeland scheme depended heavily upon the economic development of these areas and its subsequent ability to satisfy the employment need (Laurence, 1973). Estimates by the Commission, according to Laurence, revealed that the homelands could provide 50,000 jobs annually in secondary and tertiary industries. As a result these homelands would be able to accommodate seventy percent of the African population by the year 2000 A.D. The Commission, however, underestimated the development of two variables: "the African population by the turn of the century is likely to be much bigger than the commission anticipated, and economic development has fallen way behind the commission's schedule" (Laurence, 1973, p. 23).

The projected African population by the turn of the century, as estimated by the Tomlinson Commission, would reach 21.3 million, but Professor J.L. Sadie indicates that 37.25 million is probably a more realistic number (Laurence, 1973). Leistner's (1972) high estimate of 27.949 million adds to the uncertainty of accurately projecting the African population by 2000 A.D. Estimates do indicate a substantial increase over the original attempt of the Commission.

A major attempt was made by the government to create employment by developing border areas. This concept, according to Leistner (1972), was introduced by the Tomlinson Commission and it "advocated industrial development in certain regions adjoining Bantu homelands" (p. 267). Reynders (1970) refers to this concept as industrial decentralization and indicates that two kinds of locations are suitable for industrial development: white border areas and the heartlands of the homelands. The International Defence and Aid Fund (1969) suggests that Verwoerd had two purposes in mind with this project:

> (i) to decentralize (African) labour intensive industries and thereby check the flow of tribal Africans to the established urban and industrial areas, and (ii) to maintain the availability of African labour to industry (p. 13).

Horrell (1973) uses the figures made available by the Decentralization Board: since June 1960, when the program was initiated, until the end of 1971, employment was created for 99,771 people, 78,451 of whom were Africans. Dr. J. Adendorff, managing director of the Bantu Investment Corporation, has pointed out that the government policy calls for 20,000 jobs to be created annually for Africans in border and homeland areas. The creation of each job opportunity was costing R8,000 (one rand equals 1.4 dollar) and R180 million is necessary per year for the industrial development of the homeland and border areas (Horrell, et.al., 1975). Laurence's (1973) statistics, which correlate with those of Horrell, et.al. (1975), indicate that the sum total of all the jobs created since 1960 through the industrial decentralization scheme equals "two installments of the annual quota of jobs insisted upon by the Tomlinson Commission as far back as 1955" (p. 23).

In order to stimulate the interest of entrepreneurs, the government offered numerous concessions to those willing to invest in the border industry development plan. Horrell (1973) mentions the availability of low-interest loans, cash grants, major tax concessions, railage rebates, harbor rebates, government supply of water, electricity, housing for employees, et cetera., for those industrialists willing to invest in this project. The most positive results to date have been obtained in border areas around large white industrial cities such as Durban, Pretoria and Rietermaritzburg (Siedle, 1970). Leistner (1972) claims that three factors, in particular, may have adverse effects upon the prospects for industrial development inside the homelands (heartlands). In the first place, the investors have shown considerable resitance to invest. The homeland scheme calls for future independence and this causes uncertainty about the entrepreneur's investment. A second factor refers to the understandable reluctance of engineers, chemists, artisans, et cetera, to settle in relatively undeveloped areas. Thirdly, the establishment of industry far away from suppliers of spare parts, repair facilities and other specialized services, poses considerable difficulties.

After intensive research on the topic of industrial decentralization, Dr. R.T. Bell expressed himself on the border areas decentralization policy as follows:

> The fundamental problem then is that the rate of industralization in the border areas and its impact on the economic development of the homelands is inadequate in relation to the rate of growth of the homeland population . . . (Horrell, et.al., 1975, p. 276).

Leistner (1972) is aware of the significance of providing employment to the fast growing Black population and, "at the same time, forestall[ing] social and political conflicts that would hamper economic development in the long run" (p. 272). In order for the homelands scheme to succeed, the

Government is advised to pursue the decentralization idea "more vigorously and more systematically" (Siedle, 1970). Reynders (1970) is of the opinion that the 1970's ". . . will prove decisive for the question of obtaining employment opportunity objectives in and around the homelands within the framework of separate development" (p. 80, tr.). An increase in the tempo of decentralization is possible and indeed imperative for the success of separate development.

Laurence (1973) on the other hand reflects that the urban African fulfils a very necessary role in the economy of South Africa and is there to stay. Despite large investments by the government in the homelands project, the "economic integration of Black and White in South Africa is proceeding with little diminution" (Siedle, 1970). To Laurence (1973) and the Spro-cas Political Commission separate development refers primarily to separation in political and social spheres, while "economic integration or interdependence is regarded as an unalterable state of affairs" (p. 25). This raises the ultimate question: "can political separation give meaningful rights of national self-determination to people who are inextricably linked to, and utterly dependent upon, a wider multi-racial society?" (p. 25). Houghton (1972) sums up the concept of homelands development as follows:

> Separate development of African homelands has many attractive features, but the greater the emphasis on development and the less on separate the more likely it is to succeed. Moreover homeland development, while it may be a useful method of training in political and economic responsibility, cannot be

> regarded as a final solution to the problems of living together in the multi-racial society which the Republic is at present, and which it is likely to remain (p. 296).

The application of separate development to the Coloured and Asian peoples is complicated by an absence or separate territorial areas for their separate political institutions. Parallel development is used by its advocates to describe the position of the Coloured and Asian groups within the South African political structure. This policy refers to a half-way point between integration, whereby these groups will have political rights, and separation with separate homelands (Laurence, 1973).

The International Defence and Aid Fund (1972) investigated the political rights of these two racial groups within the policy of separate development. Prior to 1956 Coloured males in the Cape Province--where the majority of Coloureds reside--had limited voting rights on a common roll with Whites. The South Africa Act Amendment Act, No. 9 of 1956, cancelled their voting rights and redirected it towards electing four Whites to represent them in the House of Assembly. The Act also made provision for an Advisory Council of Coloured Affairs, which was reconstituted in 1964 as the Coloured Person's Representative Council with forty-six members. In 1968, however, the Coloureds lost all form of franchise rights. As a substitute, the Representative Council was again reconstituted and this time the membership changed to forty elected and twenty nominated by the

Government. Although the anti-apartheid Labour Party won the first election in 1969, Government manipulation gave the pro-apartheid Federal Party control of the Council. Horrell et.al., (1975) indicate that in the 1979 elections all sixty members will be elected.

The State of South Africa Yearbook (1974) signifies that the Coloured Persons Representative Council Act of 1964, section 21, provides the Council with "the same power to make laws as is vested in Parliament in respect of finance; local government; education; community welfare and pensions; . . ." (p. 69).

> The Act further provides that no proposed law shall, however, be introduced in the Council except with the approval of the Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs granted under consultation with the Minister of Finance and Administration (p. 6().

Presently the government appointed Theron Commission is investigating the needs, opportunities and place of the Colouredpeople in the South African society. The recommendations of the Commission are expected to be presented during the second half of 1975 (Race Relations News, September, 1974). Kruger expresses the sentiments of a growing number of Whites that the relatively small Coloured group, which shares the Afrikaner language as well as other cultural aspects, should be incorporated "in a new wider concept of South African nationalism" (Race Relations News, November, 1974).

Dr. Chris Jooste, director of the government sponsored

South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, believes that integration of the Coloureds is not desirable for several reasons. Despite early mixed marraiges, the coloured and white populations "originated along side each other and they experienced their processes of concrescence or national development (volkswording) separately" (Jooste, 1975, p. 20, tr.). Jooste (1975) furthermore infers that the cultural gap between the groups, their different cultural characters, their contrasting racial characteristics, et cetera, will have a "detrimental effect on their concrescence into a ethnic unit" (p. 25, tr.). Friction and tension between the groups will prevent successful integration. Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, declared after a fruitless talk with Prime Minister Vorster on the fate of the Coloureds that "We got nothing. We have no alternative now but to go to those people whose arms are open to us, the Black people of South Africa" (Race Relations News, October, 1974).

The International Defence and Aid Fund (1972) indicates that the Asians also have no political rights in South Africa. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation act of 1946 placed the Indians on a separate voters roll to select three Whites to the House of Assembly. When the National Party was elected to power in 1948, this limited franchise was abolished. As a substitute the Government set up the South African Indian Council in 1964 with its membership consisting of twenty-one Government nominees. In 1968 the Council was given statutory recognition and the number of nominees was increased to twenty-five. The State of South Africa Yearbook (1974) claims that whereas governments since 1910 regarded the Indian population as a foreign group, "the present Government acknowledges that the Indians are South Africa's permanent responsibility and that their needs must be catered for . . ." (p. 72). In this regard a separate Department of Indian Affairs was created in September of 1961.

Houghton (1972) proposes an explanation of the South African apartheid attitude in terms of economic progress. The vast majority of the white group, according to Houghton, sincerely believes that the adoption of a "more democratic political constitution involving universal franchise" would mean the transfer of political control to the black majority and the consequent jeopardizing of "the prosperity of the whole country" (pp. 228-229). "For the majority of thinking white people it is not simply a case of race prejudice or a belief in the inherent superiority of the white skin" (p. 229). They believe that a dynamic, modern, industrial society requires a certain kind of leadership, enterprise and initiative which can only be provided by the white man.

First (1973) indicates that the South African economy has made massive strides over the past 25 years. The gross domestic product rose from $1,920 million in 1946 to $14,400 million in 1970. Foreign economic involvement in South Africa takes the form of trade, loans and investments (World Council of Churches, 1973). In 1970 the total foreign investment in South Africa amounted to $8,145 million, and for the year alone the foreign investment was as high as $785 million (First, 1973). The United Kingdom remains South Africa's largest foreign investor with $4,559 million in 1970 (58 percent), while the United States, with $1,044 million in 1969 (including 300 firms and 6,000 agencies operating in South Africa), is the second largest foreign investor. France, Switzerland, Federal Republic of Germany and other European Economic Community countries have investments equalling to 24.2 percent of the total foreign investments. (First, 1973). The International Defence and Aid Fund (1972) mentions that the after-tax return on British direct investment was 10.5 percent and 16.8 percent on American. Direct investments by multi-national companies in South Africa have increased from $2,100 million in 1956 to $6,370 million in 1973 (Rapport, May 26, 1974).

Reverend Don Morton, a South African Methodist minister in exile, claims that "the continued investment and involvement of foreign corporations in South Africa strengthens the apartheid system and undergirds the oppression of the black majority in that country" (Morrell, et. al., 1975). Field (1973) summarizes the influence of foreign investments upon the South African policy as follows:

> Far from exerting leverage for changed policies, foreign funds are building South Africa's economy so that it will be better able to resist any challenges to apartheid from the international community. . . . The intent of the South African Government is clear: apart from the indespensable role played by foreign

> capital in crucial growth areas, the more closely the economy is linked with western economic interests, the simpler it will be for the Government to command political support and sympathy in the countries of their origin (p. 31).

White South Africans recognize the political protection economy is furnishing. Professor W.F.J. Steenkamp of the University of South Africa expresses appreciation of the situation as follows: "We have learned that our large international economic relationships are our best shield in a world which has chosen us as scapegoats" (World Council of Churches, 1973, p. 32).

The World Council of Churches (1973) investigates two contradictory economic theories frequently used by opposing sides to justify their respective stands in terms of creating social change in South Africa. The theory espoused by those investing in the Republic suggests that economic growth entails the breakdown of traditional economic and social structures. The Financial Mail, an influencial business weekly, postulates that "economic development will bring change that will loosen chains, just as it did in the Middle Ages in Europe" (World Council of Churches, 1973, p. 32). The growth argument has proven inaccurate for the South African Black: "between 1966 and 1971, the gap separating white and African pay in the mines widened from a ratio of 17.5:1 to 20.3:1" (p. 33). Minty (1973) notes that numerous study projects have been "set up with the primary purpose of determining how economic links can be used to promote peaceful change" (p. 49). Inevitably the studies "reject or distort the case of withdrawl and disengagement on the simple grounds that it is impractical" (p. 49).

The other approach for social change, according to the World Council of Churches (1973), is withdrawal of the foreign investors from South Africa. This "is the only correct policy" since foreign investments provide continuous support for apartheid (p. 35). If the South African political system faces a crisis, those countries with large investment will come to its aid--they might not agree with apartheid, but they have to protect their investments. "If this does happen, the holocaust in southern Africa will create a global war" (p. 35). The criticism of economic sanctions is directed at the unemployment situation that will result for the Africans (Horrell, et. al., 1975). Nobel Prize winner, Chief Albert Lutuli, accepted the challenges of such sanctions:

> The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardships for Africans. We do not doubt it. But it is a method which shortens the day of bloodshed; the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay. In any case, we suffer already . . . (World Council of Churches, 1973, p. 35).

Pomeroy (1973) indicates that in 1968 South Africa produced 31,094,466 troy ounces of gold out of the world production of 46,168,319 ounces. Since early 1968 South Africa has been maneuvering to sell their gold directly to the foreign banks, instead of selling it at a fixed price of $35 per ounce "that is maintained internationally to keep the hegemony of the American dollar" (p. 50). Any concessions to South Africa would have to come from the United States and despite the Republic's strong gold bargaining position, the price remained the same. The Economist of March, 1969 suggested that it was an ideal position for the United States to "blackmail South Africa over its apartheid policies" (Pomeroy, 1973, p. 50).

6. Apartheid and Sport:

Worrall (1972) claims that while international criticism of South African policies was spearheaded at the United Nations, disapproval of apartheid had not been limited to this organization. External criticism was expressed in a variety of proposals "which ranged from simple expression of disapproval of apartheid to proposals for the armed invasion of South Africa" (p. 564). Proposals to change the South African apartheid policies led to the application of pressure tactics expressed through boycotts. The fields of economics and sport came under the heaviest fire. The economic boom, which South Africa experienced during the middle of the 1960's, together with its armament self-sufficiency, put an end "to talk of military invasions and economic sanctions" (p. 575). Scholtz (1974) indicates that economic boycotts had little or no effect upon South Africa:

> Within a free capitalistic system large scope is available for economic manipulations, with the result that these trade boycotts had little effect; on the contrary, it increased the defensibility (weerbaarheid) of the South African economy in the long run (p. 18, tr.).

The pressure groups, according to Scholtz (1974), subsequently concentrated their efforts upon sport and it consequently "became the plaything (speelbal) which got kicked around" (p. 21, tr.). In an article in Die Beeld of January 18, 1970, Scholtz speculated on the association of sport and politics within the South African situation. Although a country might not use sport for ulterior political aims, the politics-sport tie is very real. Sport, as a product of a culture, is secondary to the laws and policies of a country and in the South African case, it is subordinate to the fundamental principles of the policy of apartheid. Since sport is practiced within the political structure of South Africa, it automatically comes under attack by those opposing apartheid. Both external and domestic pressure for political change are reflected with increasing effect in South African sport and sport relations.

Worrall (1972) states that "Sport involves masses, and is therefore politically a highly sensitive area . . ." (p. 580). A number of scholars of the South African racial situation recognize the importance of sport within the social structure of the Republic, as well as its vulnerability as a political tool (Lapchick, 1973, 1974) (Brutus, 1971) (Louw, 1974) (Thompson, 1964). Brutus (1971) notes that for some one unfamiliar with "the South African scene, it is not easy to grasp the extent to which sport dominates the thinking of most South Africans" (p. 151). The most graphic demonstration of this is the quantity and frequency of sports issues appearing in the headlines of most daily newspapers--"disasters and international affairs elsewhere are mere trifles compared to a rugby victory or even anticipation of victory" (p. 151). As a country largely cut off from international cultural contact and subject to world-wide condemnation for its policies, "sport has become the great link, as well as the great means by which the national psyche can find compensation" (p. 151).

Lapchick (1973), through interviews with South African exiles living in England and through surveying the South African press, came under the impression that "sports approach the status of a national religion in South Africa" (p. 25). The frequency with which cabinet ministers and the prime minister discussed the sports policy in parliament, gives a further indication as to the importance of sport in the socio-political structure of South Africa. In fact, the London Times (September 19, 1969) Suggested thatVorster's international sports policy, which was considered to be too liberal by certain domestic sectors, was one of the major reasons for the prime minister's calling of a national election in 1970. Sport was allowed to become so important that South African became quite vulnerable to domestic and international pressure (Lapchick, 1973).

The London Times of February 17, 1968, remarked that sport has become the prime weapon of the outside world in its attempt to change apartheid. The Sunday Times (May 31,

1970) summarized the South African predicament as follows:

> South Africa's critics have simply discovered that sport is the most useful weapon they have yet found with which to beat us and while it is the sportsmen who are the sacrificial victims - they are being ostracized and deprived of the right to participate in world sport - the main target of attack is the racial policy of South Africa, or, to put it more precisely, the racial policy of the Nationalist Party.

People like Alan Paton and Father Trevor Huddleston drew public attention to the vulnerability of sport and "expressed the belief that resistance of the colour bar in sport was the most hopeful way of breaking down apartheid in other spheres" (Thompson, 1964, p. 33).

Many South Africans supporting the political system at home doubted the wisdom of any form of compromise to ease the pressure. Louw (1974) admits that the present political situation demands practical considerations, but at the same time the pursued ideology of apartheid must not be forfeited to satisfy demands. If separate development is the ultimate objective, "then we dare not use integration as an interim practical consideration" (p. 135, tr.). This could conceivably lead to a loss of ideological direction and the surrender of South Africa's goal of separate development. Die Transvaler, a leading Nationalist newspaper, expresses concern with the consequences of making such concessions:

> It must be ascribed to one particular factor that the white race has hitherto maintained itself in the southern part of Africa. That is that there has been no miscegenation. The absence of miscegenation was because there was no social mixing between whites and non-whites. Social mixing leads inexorably to miscegenation. . . It is today the social aim of the Communist. . . In South Africa the races do not mix

> on the sports fields. If they mix first on the sports field, then the road to other forms of social mixing is wide open. . . With an eye to upholding the white race and its civilization not one single compromise can be entered into - not even when it comes to a visiting rugby team (Lapchick, 1973, p. 129).

Two opposing theories have been postulated as methods to bring about changes in the sports policy of South Africa. The "bridge-building" theory, according to Lapchick (1973), refers to a maintenance of international contact with South African sport which will in turn bring about changes in the sports policy. The rationale behind this theory is that South African athletes would be exposed to multi-racial societies abroad and, by being duly impressed, act as innovators of change at home. De Broglio rejects this theory as being ineffective and hopeless, since Prime Minister Vorster states firmly that ". . . we are not prepared to compromise, we are not prepared to negotiate and we are not prepared to make any concessions" (de Broglio, p. 34).

The second school of thought suggests that continuous sports contact with South Africa is a sign of condoning and supporting apartheid. The isolationist theory calls for the isolation of South African sport from international competition. Since sport is so important to the White population, their demands for international competition will force the Government to change its sports policy (Lapchick, 1973). De Broglio believes the suggestion that the non-Whites in South Africa would suffer as a result of such isolation practices, is invalid. The non-Whites, argues de

Broglio, "have been systematically boycotted [through apartheid] for all that time so cannot be any worse off" (p. 35).

Scholtz (1974) notes that the European liberal thought rubbed off on the Cape and the subsequent Cape Liberalism which evolved, made quite an impact on South African race relations during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. Prior to 1900, during which time Cape Liberalism reached maturity, sport had been practiced separately by the whites and non-whites. "The non-White was seen as a political and social subordinate. It is logical to expect that social distance and separation would also occur in sport" (Scholtz, 1974, p. 7, tr.). Scholtz claims that it was the English-speaking population who took the initiative of settling and organizing sport in South Africa. They consequently also dictated the racial situation in sport and chose to organize clubs, provinces and national bodies on purely racial grounds. Some mixed sport did occur, but on the basis of benefit matches. Thompson (1964) agrees and mentions cases of mixed participation in tennis, cricket, soccer as well as track and field. No government regulations forced the practice of separation in sport prior to the 1948 government. It occurred, according to Scholtz (1974), as a result of "the regulation through customs and habits" (p. 7).

A certain amount of inter-racial competition also occured in international sport. Scholtz in an article for

Rapport (November 25, 1973), an Afrikaans weekly newspaper, notes that a military rugby team from New Zealand, which included five Maoris and one Indian (East), toured South Africa in 1919. According to witnesses, the team received great hospitality and no racial incidents occured. The first time the Government of South Africa intervened was in connection with the intended 1928 All Blacks (New Zealand national rugby team) tour. During this time Hertzog was in power and racial relations in South Africa became a serious political issue. Although there was no legal racial separation in sport at the time, the South African Government put pressure on New Zealand to leave the brilliant dark-skinned George Nepia at home. Those that could pass as Whites, however, were welcome. The 1949 All Black-team, after some governmental compromise, included some Maoris who passed as whites. It became obvious that this form of settlement would not be satisfactory in the long run and domestic pressure for government control of sport along racial lines increased in South Africa.

De Broglio claims that from 1946 onwards the non-White sports organizations in South Africa sporadically challenged racial separation in sport. (Scholtz (1974) notes that the affiliation of non-white sports organizations with their White counterparts, which enjoy international recognition, is true to the League of Nations idea of white guardianship over the non-whites of South Africa.) By 1955, with the help of the liberals in South Africa, "the virginal vulnerability of sport to attack apartheid" became quite apparent (Scholtz, 1974, p. 15, tr.). The *London Times* of June 1, 1955, published a letter by Patrick Duncan and Father Trevor Huddleston, two staunch South African liberals, in which they insisted that any future participation of their country at the Commonwealth Games should be subject to multi-racialism in the selection of the team. April of 1956 saw the International Table Tennis Federation expelling the white South African organization, while giving international recognition to the non-racial Table Tennis Council of South Africa (de Broglio, no date) (Scholtz, no date).

This decision, which was taken by the world body in Tokyo, sent a shock wave through South African sport" circles--the consequences of sport-politics produced considerable domestic reaction (Scholtz, no date). It was felt that "positive steps should be taken in an attempt to oppose those who desire full and exclusive international representation for non-European organizations" (Huddleston, 1957, p. 16). Dr. M.C. de Wet, a Member of Parliament, commented that an illegal attempt had been made to bring about changes in the domestic policy of South Africa and although sport was a very important aspect of society, the traditional system of division was more important. The protection of sport in South Africa, suggested de Wet, was badly needed (Huddleston, 1957).

De Broglio (no date) indicates that this victory was a great encouragement for "non-whites in other sports to press for justice and fair play" (p. 2). The lack of unity between non-White sports organizations proved to be a major handicap in the quest for non-racialism in sport. De Broglio gives two reasons for this lack of unity. Firstly, the different sports organizations, as products of the apartheid system, limited their memberships to either Indians or Coloureds or Africans. Secondly, the long distances between the main centres produced problems for the non-white bodies to get together.

Scholtz (Rapport, November 25, 1973) stresses the point that, domestic resistance to apartheid in sport was drastically increasing during the 1950's as international isolaton became a strong possibility. South African sports administrators were consequently under extreme pressure and the interpretation and implementation of sport within the racial policy of apartheid caused considerable uncertainty. On June 26, 1956, the Minister of Interior, Dr. T.E. Donges, announced that

> . . . while the Government was most sympathetic towards and anxious to help "legitimate Non-European sporting activities", these must accord with the policy of separate development. Whites and Non-Whites should organize their sporting activities separately, there should not be inter-racial competitions within the Republic's borders, mixing of races in teams should be avoided and sportsmen of other lands should respect the country's customs, as she respected theirs. Within that framework, Non-White sportsmen from outside would not be debarred from entering South Africa to compete with Non-Whites (Draper, 1963, p. 6).

By 1962 the International Olympic Committee, under pressure from various sources, presented South Africa with the ultimatum that if South Africa did not alter its sports policy of racial discrimination before October 1963, she would be excluded from the 1964 Olympic Games. The Minister of Interior at the time, Senator Jan de Klerk, indicated that he would rather see South Africa being boycotted in sport" than giving an inch in the policy of the Nationalist Party. Any concession will mean the beginning of the end of the White civilization in South Africa . . ." (Scholtz in Rapport, December, 1973). In a press statement on February 4, 1963, Minister de Klerk reiterated government policy and threatened that if the policy was not respected, legislation might be introduced to enforce the following nine-point policy:

(1) In South Africa, Whites and Non-Whites must play sport separately. Whites and Non-Whites must not compete against one another, whether in individual events or as teams or part of teams.
(2) South African sportsmen could compete outside the country's borders with sportsmen of different races who are not South African.
(3) In sport outside the country, the Government would observe the customs of other countries. But teams and sportsmen visiting South Africa should observe this country's customs. In South Africa, White should compete against White and Non-White against Non-White.
(4) Participation in international sports tournaments or competitions of mixed teams as representatives of South Africa could not be approved. . . .
(5) Invitations to South African teams from neighbouring states to take part in competitions there in conflict with the custom in South Africa and which were obviously not international matches would not be regarded favourably.
(6) It was Government policy to help White and Non-White sport associations as far as possible, but most certainly not where their purpose was to force the country to depart from the Government's policy.
(7) In administration and control Non-White associations could exist and develop alongside the corresponding White associations. One or two members of the White executive committee of the chief organization could

attend meetings of the Non-White organization's executive committee when requested. They could act as a link between the ~~committees~~ and inform the White committee about the opinions of the Non-White committee when matters of concern to the Non-White committee were being dealt with.

(8) If this method should appear impractical in a particular instance, one or more members of the Non-White body could be co-opted or elected to serve on the White executive committee in an advisory capacity when matters affecting the Non-White organization were discussed.

(9) The White executive committees could serve on a high level as co-ordinating bodies between the association and as representatives in the corresponding world organizations (Rand Daily Mail, February 4, 1963).

On May 9, 1953 the Liberal Party of South Africa was founded, projecting the ideals of recognition of personal dignity irrespective of race, color or creed, the maintainance of basic human rights, political rights, et cetera (Robertson, 1971). It was a matter of course that this organization should apply itself to the quest of multi-racialism in sport (Scholtz, 1974). When the South African Sports Association (SASA) was formed in 1958 to coordinate the various pressure groups against apartheid in sport, several Liberal Party members pledged their support (Scholtz, 1974). Mr. Alan Paton, the vice-chairman of the Liberal Party and patron of SASA, stated at the inaugural conference in Durban in January 1959 that this body was formed

> . . . to co-ordinate non-white sport, to advance the cause of sport and the standards of sport among non-white sportsmen, to see that they and their organizations secure proper recognition here and abroad, and to do this on a non-racial basis (de Broglio, no date, p. 3).

De Broglio (no date) notes that this new co-ordinating body represented some 70,000 sportsmen in a variety of sports and its secretary, Dennis Brutus, travelled the country "preaching unity and non-racialism and co-ordinating the fight for international recognition in the different sports" (p. 3). Attempts by the South African Sports Association to obtain international recognition proved futile and a change of mood became evident in the ranks of those supporting non-racial sport.

> Whereas the aim of the South African Sports Association had been international participation for black sportsmen within the framework of segregation in national sport, now a new mood was emerging. It had become apparent that black South Africans could not rely on the good offices of the white organisations for their international participation (de Broglio, no date, p. 4).

In October 1962 this "new mood" found expression in the formation of another organization. The South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC), according to Scholtz (1974), was founded to contest the membership of the white-controlled South African Olympic Committee with the International Olympic Committee. Again several Liberals became members of the new organization and again Alan Paton became the patron, while Dennis Brutus acted as secretary. De Broglio (no date) states that SAN-ROC

> . . . set themselves the goal of non-racial sport inside South Africa and decided to wage all-out war against the racialist organizations, who were masquerading as South African national organizations in the sports forum of the world. SANROC was to become a vital element in international sport scoring resounding victories against racialist sport, uniting with the emerging African nations in a common struggle for the elimination of racialism from all international sport (pp. 4-5).

SAN-ROC, as a South African based pressure group, had initial success but eventually was forced into exile. Both the organization of non-racial sport and the Liberal Party involuntarily became involved with subversive activities. Dennis Brutus maintains that the turn of events virtually ended SAN-ROC'S chance of obtaining international recognition as South Africa's official Olympic representative body (Lapchick, 1973). The Liberal Party, according to Scholtz (1974), followed the route of other resistance movements in South Africa and was officially banned in 1967.

In December of 1961 a number of white liberals, without the knowledge of their party leaders, formed the African Resistance Movement (ARM) whose objectives were to "inconvenience and confuse, disrupt and destroy" (Scholtz, 1974, p. 19). John Harris, who served as chairman of SAN-ROC at the time and was a wellknown member of the Liberal Party, had "sentiments with the ARM" (Scholtz, 1974, p. 20, tr.). He expressed his sentiments by planting a bomb in the Johannesburg station on July 24, 1964, which claimed one life and wounded several bystanders. Harris was convicted of conspiracy and hanged on April 1, 1965. Fifteen year old Peter Hain, son of Harris' close friends, delivered the eulogy under pressure from his parents--"the same young Hain was to become the leading figure from 1969 onwards to organize militant and hate inspired boycotts against South Africa's sport from London" (Scholtz, 1974, p. 20, tr.).

Brutus (1971) mentions that other members of SAN-ROC "were intimidated or hounded by the police so that some fled the country and others were forced to withdraw from activities" (p. 156). SAN-ROC had considerable impact within the field of sports politics and Brutus (1971) credits this organization with gaining the exclusion of South Africa from the 1964 Olympic Games. With the help of certain humanitarian groups in London, SAN-ROC once again became active in 1966. Lapchick (1973) mentions that the organization's name was changed in 1967 to SAN-R Open Committee and has operated ever since as an overseas pressure group.

Worrall (1972) suggests that in the 1960's, international sports bodies were applying tremendous pressure on South Africa to change its policies of racial discrimination in sport. In June 1962 international pressure against apartheid in sport took a critical turn for South Africa. The International Olympic Committee presented South Africa with the ultimatum that unless racial discrimination in sport was eliminated by October 1963, South Africa would be expelled from the Olympic Games (Scholtz in Rapport, December 2, 1973). Horrell (1968) alleges that fifty days prior to the Tokyo Games, South Africa's membership in the Olympic Games was terminated. In April 1966, during a meeting of the IOC in Rome, South Africa's suspension was confirmed. Following a three member fact-finding commission's report on the sport situation in South Africa, the Republic was voted into the Mexico Games during a IOC meeting in Grenoble in February, 1968. However, two months later the IOC announced, after reversing its previous vote, that the South African invitation to the Olympics was withdrawn.

Lapchick (1973), in a research study which gives a detailed account of overseas pressure upon South Africa's sport, mentions a number of pressure groups contributing to South Africa's isolation in international sports competition. Some of those mentioned are: Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport (CARDS in England during the late 1950's); Citizens All-Blacks Tour Association (CABTA in New Zealand during later 1950's, 1960's); Citizens Association for Racial Equality (CARE in New Zealand during 1960's and 1970's); Campaign Against Racialism in Sport (CARIS in Australia during late 1960's, 1970's); Stop The Seventy Tour (STST IN England, 1969-1970).

Brutus (1971) affirms that by 1970 South Africa had been expelled or suspended from the following international sports bodies: track and field, angling, boxing, basketball, badminton, canoeing, fencing, gymnastics, judo, netball, pentathlon, soccer, tennis, table tennis, weight-lifting and wrestling. To add insult to injury, the IOC withdrew its recognition of the South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) during a meeting in Amsterdam in May 1970. Of the sixty-six ballots cast, thirty-five were in favor of withdrawing recognition of South Africa's membership to the

IOC, twenty-eight were against the motion and three abstained (International Olympic Committee Minutes, May, 1970).

Lapchick (1974) suggests that since two-thirds of the IOC membership in May 1970 came from white nations, certain crucial factors must have provided the needed persusaion for certain members to change their position towards South Africa. Three key factors are referred to:

> . . . the militant international opposition to sports apartheid, with its home in Britian, made South Africa's traditional allies less likely to support her due to threats to peace at home; South Africa's refusal to allow Arthur Ashe, the black American tennis star, to compete in the South African Open at least temporarily cost South Africa the support of the United States; and . . . the African nations, now with the backing of other non-white nations as well as most of the Socialist Bloc, realized their own power to destroy the system of international sport as it is known and employed it to the fullest extent (pp. 16-17).

Scholtz (Rapport, December 2, 1973, tr.) declares that while the "narrow-minded sports statements" by the South African government in 1956, 1962, 1963 and 1965 were in accordance with the status quo, the 1967 statement deviated considerably from the established norm. One year prior to his assassination in September 1966, Dr. Verwoerd delivered his Loskop Dam speech in which he once again clearly depicted the government's position towards mixed sport. The prime minister, according to Worrall (1972), ended all speculation about the possible inclusion of Maoris in the New Zealand rugby side for their proposed tour of South Africa in 1967. In no uncertain terms Dr. Verwoerd indicated that the Maoris would not be welcome in South Africa as members of the All Blacks team. This caused the cancellation ot the tour and Minister P.M.K. le Roux saw the rationale behind the decision in the following manner: "If you alter a principle, you might as well cast it overboard" (Scholtz in Rapport, December, 1973, tr.).

Mr. John Vorster, as the former Minister of Justice in the Verwoerd cabinet, took over the reigns as Premier and it "was hoped that under his direction, a shift in accent would occur in sports politics" (Scholtz in Rapport, December 2, 1973). On April 11, 1967 Prime Minister Vorster outlined his interpretation of separate development within the realm of sport in the House of Assembly (Hansard, 1967, cols. 3959-3976). The Premier based his interpretation on the distinction "between personal relations on the one hand and inter-state relations on the other" (Hansard, 1967, col. 3964). Personal relations concurred with the government policy on sport whereby whites and non-whites would continue to play their sport separately. The Prime Minister made it clear in his address that no mixed sport between white and non-white South Africans would take place. Inter-state relations, however, introduced the possibility of mixed participation in South Africa between white South Africans and non-whites from other countries, if the latter were representing their country.

Mr. Vorster's policy in relation to the Olympic Games, indicated that "South Africa would have to comply with the requirements that only one team from each country may participate, . . . under their country's flag (Horrell, 1968, p. 19). In regard to rugby and cricket Mr. Vorster stated that South Africa could not interfere with the composition of visiting teams. Worrall (1972) mentions that as a direct result New Zealand included two Maoris in their 1970 touring rugby side to South Africa. The following year a French rugby team included a "Coloured" member.

During his parliamentarian address on his sports policy, Prime Minister Vorster mentioned that his interpretation was not

> . . . the thin end of the wedge or a surrender of principles, or that it is a step in the direction of diverging from the basic principle, ... because in respect to this principle we are not prepared to compromise, we are not prepared to negotiate and we are not prepared to make any concessions (Hansard, 1967, cols. 3960-3961).

Mr. Vorster concluded his address on a warning note:

> . . . that politicians must not intervene in the matter [sport] to impair relations between countries, that sport must not be dragged into politics in order to achieve some purpose or other, and that it must not create difficulties for me at home (Hansard, 1967, col. 3968).

Mrs. Helen Suzman, a Progressive Party representative in Parliament, viewed the ecstatic press response following the reviewed sports policy with reservation. In her opinion everybody was just too willing and eager "to grasp at blades of straw" (Scholtz in Rapport, December 2, 1973, tr.). Mrs. Suzman expressed the conviction that the present sports policy was not the answer to continued international sport.

Mrs. Suzman's response to Mr. Vorster's demand that politicians should not interfere with South African sport, was that it was unrealistic and unreasonable since the government had already made sport a delicate political issue (Scholtz in Rapport, December 2, 1973).

Opposition members questioned the Prime Minister's interpretation of Nationalist Party policy. The opposition wanted clarity on how Mr. Vorster could justify his new policy in terms of the Loskop Dam statement by Dr. Verwoerd. Mr. J.D. du P. Basson, United Party Member of Parliament, accused the Premier and the Nationalist Party of using a "double standard" (Hansard, 1967, col. 3968).

Botha (1968), head of the Physical Education Department at the University of Pretoria, thought that the new sports policy "remained unswerving (koersvas) and consistent in principle" (p. 326, tr.) It must be clearly understood that the statement by the Premier does not implicate "a change of policy", but rather "a policy adaptation" (beleidsaanpassing) (p. 326, tr.). Botha indicates that the policy preserved the status quo in sport "except for international interstate meets . . ." (p. 327, tr.). Despite the great importance of sport in the South African society, it must not bring about the undermining of the policy of separate development and the "unsettling of traditional relations between races" (p. 327, tr.).

South Africa's readmittance to the Olympic Games, according to Botha (1968), was a direct result of the Prime Minister's sports policy statement. Furthermore,

> The sports policy is realistically adapted to our present sports dilemma . . . .No Government prescription is to be read into this policy, but rather a bigger objectivity, which ought to be accepted more reasonably abroad as a result. If it does not get accepted there, South Africa can withdraw from international sport with the knowledge that international sport is committed to politics and not true sport (pp. 327-328, tr.).

Kane-Berman (1972) expresses the belief that "There can be little doubt that the threat of isolation is what led to the change in policy" (p. 8). Worrall (1972) agrees and indicates that the escalating overseas pressure in sport over the past fifteen years is reflected in the policy changes. In addition, "There is also the fact that attitudes in regard to inter-racial sport reflect the changes which are taking place in race relations in general" (p. 585).

Scholtz (Rapport, December 2, 1973) reports that Vorster's sports policy left the Nationalist Party divided. On the one side were those who supported it and felt that this approach was necessary to adapt to a changing world. Directly opposed to this approach was the ultra-conservative pressure group who believed that the new sports formulation was a radical renouncement of Dr. Verwoerd's policy, and as the principle of apartheid. Opposition within his own party resulted in the Premier expelling Dr. Albert Hertzog from his ministerial position on August 6, 1968. Scholtz claims that Hertzog and his supporters misjudged the mood of the Afrikaners, since the sports statement was extremely well received by the public. On September 27, 1968 the Prime Minister declared that "people with 'Maori-blood'. . . will be acceptable" as members of the proposed 1970 All Black rugby team to South Africa (Scholtz in Rapport, December 2, 1973), tr.).

Mr. Vorster announced that a general election would be held in early 1970--"In 1970 South Africa held its first 'Maori'-election" (Scholtz in Rapport, December 2, 1973, tr.). The election proved the general support of the sports policy by the white public, while Dr. Hertzog and his newly formed Hersigte Nasionale Party (HNP) lost considerable face. The 1970 All Blacks toured South Africa with three Maoris and "a half-Samoan". "But the long and painful wrestling for equal rights of all races in South African sport, lies ahead. It will require large insight and tolerance. It is the challenge to us younger ones" (Scholtz in Rapport, December 2, 1973, tr.).

On April 22, 1971 the Prime Minister made public further pronouncements of the sports policy to complement the development and implementation of separate development (Smit, 1971). Smit (1971) indicates that these

> . . . formulations do not mean that the Government is taking the sports administration over . . ... It means only that general guide-lines, in concurrence with country policy, has been established within which sports administrators would be allowed to organize local and international affairs (p. 2552, tr.).

Smit (1971) feels that no sober thinking person could dispute the government's methods, since it is the responsibility of the Government to prevent friction and to preserve order also within the realm of sport.

The following includes a number of the guide-lines Mr. Vorster presented to Parliament:

> South Africa is a multi-national country with the various nations on their way to their own peculiar development (eiesoortige ontwikkeling). It is therefore desirable and good that the future development of sport keep pace with it (Hansard, 1971, cols. 5051-2, tr.).
> On club, provincial, and national level no mixed sport will take place in South Africa between the various population groups . . . (Hansard, 1971, col. 5056, tr.).
> Traditional sports relations which have been built up with countries with respect to rugby and cricket, have been build through white (blanke) sports bodies. This will continue and new relations which might present internal problems will not necessarily be developed (Hansard, 1971, col. 5052, tr.).
> The non-White nations of South Africa will receive full opportunity and support to, as far as team sports are concerned, develop their own relations with other countries through their own sports bodies (Hansard, 1971, col. 5053, tr.).
> As far as Olympic sports and others of individual nature are concerned (like track and field (atletiek), tennis and golf) graded (gegradeerde) representatives of the various population groups will be able to progress to the highest form of international competition. Such opportunities will also be created within South Africa at stated international tournaments (Hansard, 1971, col. 5054, tr.).
> Sport is important for the human, individually, nationally and internationally, but there are other interests that have to be considered more important than sports interests (Hansard, 1971, cols. 5050-1, tr.).

Kane-Berman (1972) claims that Vorster's sports policy does not deviate from the apartheid concept and was devised merely as a smoke-screen to get South Africa back into international sports competitions. This charge is based upon the government's claim that South Africa is a multi-national, rather than multi-racial country.

> The distinction is not merely terminological, but goes to the core of South African politics. "Multi-nationalism" involves the continuation of apartheid, for it sees South Africa as several "nations". The aim of this policy, as applied to sport, is to enable sport within the framework of apartheid, with each "nation" participating separately (p. 1).

South Africa, according to Kane-Berman (1972), is a multi-racial country in which several races combine to form a single nation. On this basis South Africa should then be represented internationally as a single nation.

Draper (1963) remarks that there is a big distinction between law and policy--"Laws have to be observed and are enforced by courts. Compliance with policy is a matter of choice on the part of individual citizens and organizations (p. 5). This statement is substantiated by a court case in the province of Natal in October 1963 whereby participants of a mixed soccer game, who were charged with the contravention of the Group Areas Act, were acquitted. The decision, which was subsequently upheld in the Supreme Court of Natal, was based upon the fact that "playing a game . . . would not involve 'occupation' . . ." of an area as it is understood under the Group Areas Act (Draper, 1963, p. 4). The Court indicated that if the players who were "off limits" had used the club-house amenities, the decision might have been different.

In terms of the legality of mixed sport, Kane-Berman (1972) notes that "there is nothing illegal about racially mixed sports functions, provided the venue is private" (p.

3). Horrell and Horner (1974) claim that occassional multi-racial sports matches have been held over the years and under Proclamation R26 of 1965, as it pertains to the Group Areas Act and entertainment, they

> . . . were legal provided that the participants and spectators were specially invited and paid no admission fees, and that the event was held on private premises with the consent of the owner or lawful occupier, or on a public field that was reserved for the occasion. Permits would be needed if racially-disqualified persons were to be invited to use the club-house of a sporting club, or if liquor was to be served to Africans (p. 112).

This proclamation, according to Horrell and Horner (1974), was never seriously challenged until 1973. Early in 1973 the multi-racial Aurora Cricket Club was formed in Pietermaritzburg and elected an Indian captain and a white vice-captain. They applied for second league status in the local white league and undertook to comply in all respects with the existing law. Members of the team would not make use of club-houses and would bring their own refreshments, et cetera. Their application was provisionally accepted and the team proceded to take part in pre-season exhibition matches. The Sunday Times of May 27, 1973, in addition, reported that friendly soccer matches were taking place between white teams and teams consisting of Indian and Coloured members in Newcastle. The non-white athletes, however, did not make use of the club-house facilities.

Horrell and Horner (1974) mention that the minister of Sport and Recreation, Dr. Piet Koornhof, ruled that mixed games had to be stopped. In this regard the Proclamation

R228 of October 5, 1973 was tabled and the State President declared that the provisions of the Group Areas Act

> . . . shall apply also with reference to any person who is at any time present in or upon any land or premises in the controlled area or in a group area . . . for the purpose of attending any place of public entertainment or partaking of any refreshments as a customer at a place where refreshments are served in a licenced restaurant . . . or as a member of or guest in any club . . . as if his presence constited occupation of such land or premises (Horrell and Horner, 1974, p. 113).

Racially mixed competitions on international level took place in South Africa during the month of May, 1973. The president of the South African National and Olympic Games Association, Mr. R. Opperman, called the Games "an act of faith" and indicated that "We are not trying to prove or disprove anything, the intention is to give South African sportsmen a chance to compete at the highest level" (Cape Argus, March 22, 1973). Swanepoel and Oosthuizen (1973) state that 673 competitors and officials representing twenty-nine countries from abroad, participated in the thirty-one sports events of the Games. In addition, 993 South Africans of all races "competed with and against one another" (p. 11).

The Star (March 23, 1973) suggested that "The 'multi-national' South African Games which start in Pretoria tonight are of profound political importance to South Africa . . ." Ultra right-winged groups, led by the Hersigte Nasionale Party (HNP), were bitterly opposed to the Games. A motorcade, organized by the Verwoerd Action group, drove through the streets of Pretoria to protest the staging of the multi-racial sports spectacle. On a hillside outside Pretoria the protest of the ultra right-winged element was white-washed in huge letters: Sport-verraad (Sports betrayal) (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 20, 1973).

The *Natal Daily News* of March 15, 1973 reported that SAN-ROC attempted to stop the large West German contingent from competing in the "Apartheid Games". SAN-ROC sent cables to both Chancellor Willy Brandt and West Germany's Olympic committee president, Mr. Willy Daume, in which they denounced West Germany's support of the Games. West German support was interpreted as a "direct insult to Africa after Munich and a show of political support to compensate South Africa for exclusion from the Munich Games" (*Natal Daily News*, March 15, 1973). In addition, the American Committee on Africa in Washington DC called for a boycott of the South African Games by those athletes who received invitations (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 15, 1973).

Dr. Koornhof, Minister of Sport and Recreation, believed the Games to have been ". . . one of the most significant this country has ever taken to improve relations across the colour line" (*Sunday Times*, April 1, 1973). The *Eastern Province Herald*, April 3, 1973, claimed that the South African Games taught the country a very important lesson: "There is now the knowledge, . . . that the heavens will not fall because South Africa, . . . is prepared to countenance mixed sport". The *Pretoria News* of March 23, 1973 saw it as unrealistic "to bluff ourselves that the Games are more than a step towards catching up with the rest of the world". However, by South African standards it was a very big step indeed.

Mr. Stan Wright, a black American and track and field chairman of the United States Amateur Athletic Union, could not hide his abhorrence of apartheid. He criticized the separation of whites and non-whites at the Games and declared that "This should not happen at sports meetings - it defeats the whole spirit of sport" (Sunday Express, April 8, 1973). The Sunday Express of April 11, 1973 reflected on the possible intention of the Games and posed the question of whether it was a

> . . . sincere effort to get back into the international sporting fold or a showpiece designed to hoodwink overseas people into believing that South Africa has changed sufficiently to warrant being accepted back into the International Olympic Committee.

A member of the Coloured Representative Council, Mr. Albie Pop, commented that the multi-national games were merely used as a ploy to get white South Africa back into world sport. Completely integrated sport, according to Mr. Pop, is necessary at the grass root level--sport in South Africa should be multi-racial rather than multi-national (Rand Daily Mail, April 23, 1973).

Horrell and Horner (1973) report that the non-racial sports bodies in South Africa refused to take part in the South African Games. They rejected the invitation to participate in "open international" sports events on the grounds that they are "merely window-dressing exercises to deceive the outside world" (p. 367). Kane-Berman (1972) explains that for more than a decade African, Indian and Coloured sportsmen have been organized in two kinds of unions which are strongly opposed to one another. They differ from one another in two respects. Firstly, the non-racial organizations are open to all four racial groups in South Africa, while the other organizations, in accordance with Government policy, allow only Coloured members in the Coloured organization, Africans in the African organization and Indians in the Indian organization. Secondly, the non-racial unions unlike the other black unions, refused affiliation with their white counterparts since that would amount to acceptance of subservient status.

Kane-Berman (1972) notes that there is a distinction in South Africa between open international and ordinary international competitions. Although it is not really known how many countries are needed for a competition to qualify as an open international, the Davis Cup, the Olympic Games, the world cycling championship, et cetera, are considered to fall into this category. Rugby and cricket tours, however, are considered ordinary internationals. The significance of the distinction is that members of all the different official racial groups may participate in open internationals, while ordinary internationals will remain uni-racial.

Lapchick (1973) mentions that a number of Springbok cricketers (White cricket players representing South Africa) started to call for mixed sport per se in South Africa in 1970. Peter Pollock expressed himself on multi-racial sport as follows:

> It is my sincere belief that there is a growing body of sports opinion - which like mine, is not politically inspired - that echoes my sentiments...I'm sticking my neck out all the way. I feel that the Government owes something to people who play sport in this country (Lapchick, 1973, p. 308).

In 1973 Ali Bacher, the Springbok cricket captain and supporter for multi-racial sport, announced his retirement from cricket due to the intrusion of politics into the game (Horrell and Horner, 1974). Rugby officials who watched the multi-racial (multi-national) soccer tournament and boxing at the South African Games, told the Sunday Express reporter that

> What happened with soccer can now apply to rugby. If Whites and Blacks can hammer each other in good clean spirit in the ring there is no reason why rugby players cannot scrum down with and against Blacks - and go on tour together as one South African team (Sunday Express, April 8, 1973).

In an address on October 14, 1974 in the House of Assembly, Dr. Koornhof stated that it was government policy to remove "discrimination on the grounds of race and colour . . . in sport" (Comment and Opinion, October 18, 1974). In addition, Dr. Koornhof announced that a "Champion of Champions" tournament for soccer clubs of all four racial groups will be scheduled, that non-white boxers will now be allowed to become South African champions and the "negotiations were presently under way for a new dispensation in cricket" (Comment and Opinion, October 18, 1974). Opposition MP's, according to Race Relations News, November 1974, professed complete bewilderment at the sports policy and also indicated that they were unimpressed. Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert of the Progressive Party indicated that the policy was as clear as mud and that "it looks like a centipede out of step with itself". (p. 2).

During a speech at Nigel on November 5, 1974, Mr. Vorster asked the critics of South African policies to give the government a period of six to twelve months to bring about improvements. Minister Hilgard Muller indicated that South Africa was aiming to "move away from racism and unnecessary discrimination and it is the government's task to take the lead" (Race Relations News, December, 1974). Progressive Party MP, Rene de Villiers responded in the following way:

> . . . the sooner the process of dismantling those parts of the apartheid structure that are blatantly discriminatory begins the better our chance of success. I fear the average White South African hasn't the foggiest idea of what real political change involves and, until it does, we won't get very far on our journey to reality. Discrimination is at the heart of our society . . . it won't go, or stand any chance of going, until the public has been told far more explicity just what is involved and, if necessary, dragooned into action. Nothing less than revolution in White thinking is what is called for (Race Relations News, December, 1974).

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This chapter describes the sample and sampling method used, the data collection procedure and the research instrument. In addition, Chapter III presents the operational definitions as well as the hypotheses for testing the statistical treatment to be used and the delimitations and limitations of the study.

THE SAMPLE

The design of the study, together with the literature review, began in the summer of 1973, while the data collection was completed in South Africa during the months of May and June 1974.

The two main independent variables in this study are race and group affiliation--that is, an affiliation with sport as either an athlete, a politician or a sports administrator. Two racial groups were analyzed in this study. The white group comprised of those recognized as such by the South African law, while the black group included the remaining three racial (or national) groups. The latter groups are the Bantu, Cape Coloureds and Asiatics. The three affiliation groups were selected on the basis of their possible effect upon the future of South African sport and society at large. In the case of the athlete, his or her choice to compete or not to compete on a multi-racial basis and their attitudes towards inter-racial sport per se, could have a significant influence upon the course of action the sports administrators might pursue. By the same token, their collective positions could influence politicians into preserving or reviewing the current position of the South African government's sports policies.

In order for the athletes to qualify for the sample, they were to have taken part in at least one mixed (or inter-racial) sports competition. Due to the nature of South African sports policies, only international athletes were accepted.[1] Four sports in which mixed competitions have occurred were selected and athletes in these sports (soccer, cricket, boxing and track and field) were chosen. Only athletes from these four sports comprised the athletes section of the sample. Sports administrators of provincial, national and international standing, together with prominent politicians, completed the sample. The latter affiliation group included high ranking politicians in the three major white parties, as well as leading black politicians.

Although some contact was established from Canada with a number of politicians and sports administrators, most of the interviews with the individuals were arranged while the investigator was in South Africa. The various sports governing bodies supplied the names and addresses of athletes of international standing, most of whom competed in the R.S.A. Games the previous summer. Both the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg and the Centre of Intergroup Studies in Cape Town provided a list of the names and addresses of politicians.

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[1] Due to governmental concessions, all the four official racial groups were allowed to compete against one another at the Republic of South Africa Games in March, 1973. This was justified by giving each racial group national status. Athletes from a number of foreign countries participated, giving the Games an international flavor (Swanepoel and Oosthuizen, 1973) (van den Berghe, et. al., 1973).

Politicians and sports administrators were interviewed personally and they were also asked to complete a written questionnaire. The athletes, on the other hand, were asked to respond to mailed questionnaires. Because of time and financial restrictions, personal contact with all three segments was impractical. Great care was taken to personally contact equal number of Whites and Blacks in all the categories of the sample. This objective was thwarted to a certain extent by difficulties experienced in locating the black politicians and sports administrators (see Limitations). This resulted in slightly more white responses in the politician and sports administrator categories.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

A questionnaire (Appendix 3) was designed specifically for this study and was either presented in interview form, or mailed to the remaining respondents. In-depth interviews were conducted with politicians and sports administrators.

The majority of the selected politicians and sports administrators consented to have the interviews tape recorded. Some of the respondents, initially showed considerable reluctance, but with few exceptions proved co-operative in the long run.[2] Interviews were usually arranged by telephone. In cases where bureaucratic procedures threatened to stifle the opportunity for an interview, direct approaches were employed, for example, contacting the respondent at home or arriving without previous appointment at his or her office. The investigator's status as a South African physical education student studying overseas, combined with their identification with the pressure put on the author by time limitations, often persuaded the reluctant respondent to consent to an interview.

An oversampling procedure was used in this study to account for refusals or for people who could not be reached. In the case of the initial sample, fifteen names and addresses in each category were selected. This meant that fifteen black politicians, fifteen white politicians, fifteen black sports administrators and fifteen white administrators were selected. It was felt that ten respondents in each of the categories would be sufficient.

Under normal circumstances the South African parliament would have been in session during the planned data collection period. A surprise national election in April 1974, and subsequent by-elections as late as June, delayed the 1974 parliamentary session until August of that year. In planning the data collection section of the study, it was assumed that all white politicians would be gathered in Cape Town during May and June, 1974. This consequent decentralization of the white politicians during this time required an increase in the estimated travel time. Often decisions had to be made based upon considerations of finances and time. These decisions at times had a bearing on who could or who could not be interviewed.

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[2] Those politicians and sports administrators who turned the author down could usually not fit an interview of one to two hour duration into their busy schedules. On occassion the author could not adjust his own schedule to suit that of the intended respondent. At no time was the author turned down due to the study topic.

Approximately one-and-a-half to two hours were spent on each interview. All the interviews were recorded on tape after permission from the respondents was granted. Approximately 6,000 miles were covered during the research period in South Africa. Circumstances and time allowed for twenty-two interviews with politicians, sixteen of whom were white and twenty-one interviews with sports administrators, thirteen of whom were white.

The interviews were conducted in and around a number of South African cities. In the South Africa north the research was centered around Johannesburg, Pretoria and the black residential area of Soweto as well as in Seshego, the capital of the Lebowan homeland. Cape Town was used in the south as headquarters, when numerous black residential areas around the Cape peninsula were visited for interviews.

Although these visits were often unproductive in terms of direct results, the necessary information about employment locations was obtained. Various black political leaders and sports administrators were located in the Cape Town and Stellenbosch areas.[3] In the east of South Africa the capital of the Transkaien homeland, Umtata, was used as departure point. Further to the north-east the city of Durban served the same purpose.

Questionnaires were mailed to the athletes in the sample. Enclosed with the questionnaire was an explanatory note on the purpose of the study, a small form requiring some information, a number of which were personal, an answer sheet, as well as a self-addressed envelope with the necessary postage to a South African address (Appendices 1,2 and 4).

From sampling lists provided by sports governing bodies a group of 120 athletes were selected, thirty from each sport with half the number Whites and the other half Blacks. In preparing the sample list, the sports governing bodies advised as best they could the language preferred by each of the athletes--they were not always certain, however, as to which athletes were literate or illiterate. It was expected that a large sample would compensate for those variables (oversampling).

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[3] The majority of the Cape Coloured population resides around the bay, the "Cape Flats" and further inland in the vicinity of Stellenbosch.

The questionnaire-response procedure via the mail proved most unsatisfactory. Despite procedures that included a follow-up letter from Canada, only twenty-six athletes replied. This number was evenly divided between the two racial groups. Possible reasons for such a meagre response are discussed under the Limitations section which appears later in Chapter III.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Because there were a number of subsamples in this study, the research instrument shows little congruency with questionnaire formats used in contemporary research on the South African society (van der Merwe, et.al., 1974, Stone, 1973). Many of these studies involve only one racial group as its sample, a majority of which are white. In this study members of all four official racial groups, which incorporated individuals with widely ranging levels of education, were included.

In view of the distinct possibility that a discrepancy might exist in the educational levels of the sample and in view of obvious disadvantages associated with mailed questionnaires, a short and uncomplicated questionnaire was employed. The composition of the questionnaire was aimed at obtaining responses to controversial domestic social issues without unduly discouraging a response.

The questionnaire was prepared in both the official languages of South Africa, namely, Afrikaans and English. Although a number of other languages are spoken in South Africa, it was expected that the two official languages--which are taught in all the schools--would suffice. As for the specific questions, the majority were not knowingly related to any previously used research instrument. Questions twenty-seven to thirty, however, were related to statements by Cleaver (1968) as they pertain to black-white stereotyping in the United States of America.

Basically the questionnaire was used as an instrument to determine the attitudes of the sample towards key concepts in the South African sports policies.* The first of the five key concepts refers to the importance of sport to the respondents as compared to three other established institutions. The respondents were asked to rank politics, religion, the economy and sport on a one to four scale of importance. In order to measure the importance of sport to the South African government as perceived by the respondents, under key concept two, four questions were used (Q's 17, 23, 25, 31). These questions were all directed towards the issue at hand: are changes in sport perhaps threatening the status quo?

The third key concept pertained to the amount of support the sample showed for government involvement in sport, as well as their reaction to international sports boycotts against South Africa. The first part of this key concept was based upon a quote by the present Prime Minister of South Africa in which he indicated that sport and politics should be kept separately. Four questions were used to determine whether the government actually follows this approach in practice or whether the government is actively involved in the political side of sport (Q's 1,18,19,22). The attitudes of the respondents towards the organized isolation of South Africa from international sports competitions were obtained by questioning them on the justice of this method (Q. 21).

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* The questions were designed to fit into five key concepts or areas of major interest to the study.

The first part of key concept four is concerned with respondents' perception of the other race in terms of inherent intelligence and physical prowess. Questions twenty-seven to thirty were used to determine the attitudes of the respondents towards these traits which are often employed for group stereotyping. The second part of this key concept deals with the examination of the attitudes of the respondents towards the possibility of inter-racial sport contributing to the improvement of racial relations in South Africa (Q's 1,3,5,6,14).

The last key concept has three inter-related parts. These parts expose attitudes toward racial integration in sport and industry as possible means of causing major changes in the policy of apartheid, as well as attitudes toward the possibility of total social integration.

Attitudes concerning racial integration in sport were measured by the responses to questions dealing with political restriction in sport, the present development of government sports policy and the possible future development of sport (Q's 1,4,14,22,26). Respondent attitudes about the role of industry in the apartheid structure were measured by their reactions to questions twelve and twenty-four. The questions deal with the individual's acceptance or non-acceptance of integration in industry, as well as his or her perception of present conditions. Attitudes towards the possibility of racial integration at large were obtained through the responses to questions nine, ten, eleven, twelve and thirteen. The respondents were asked to react to the possibility of racial integration in some of the major social institutions in South Africa. Included were the institutions of education, religion, industry and matrimony.

In addition to responding to the written questionnaire, some members of the sample were interviewed personally by the author. The questionnaire was comprised of many open-ended questions, closely related to the written questionnaire. The rationale for interviewing the politicians and sports administrators was based on the fact that they were in the upper echelon of decision-making in sports-politics.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the purpose of clarity, certain terms are defined in this section to comply with the understanding of this study. In the process operational, lexical and theoretical definitions were used.

Acclimatization: This term is used in this study to describe the process of becoming accustomed to a new social environment.

Amalgamation: "The biological process of two or more racial or subracial stocks interbreeding or intermarrying, so that originally distinct groups fuse into new racial stocks" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1970, p. 10).

Apartheid: It is the Afrikaans word meaning 'separateness' and is synonymous to 'separate development'. In practice this term indicates a separation of the different racial groups within the South African society, an uneven distribution of political power and economical wealth between Whites and Blacks and social discrimination along racial lines. Within this political structure the white numerical minority holds the position of supremacy and domination over the black populace (Randall, 1970).

Within the structure of apartheid a relatively recent concept of 'petty apartheid' has been added. This concept refers to the separation of races--either through separate facilities or physical separation within the same facility--at libraries, museums, opera and movie houses, seating facilities at sports events, public toilets, parks, etc. (Horrell and Horner, 1974).

Asians: (see under Race).

Assimilation: "The complete merging of groups of individuals with separate cultures and identifications into one group with a common culture and identity" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1970, p. 17). Assimilation does not require a biological fusion, but amalgamation often occurs during this process.

Attitude: In this study it indicates "Settled behaviour or manner of acting, as representative of feeling or opinion" (Onions, 1968, p. 120).

Bantu: (see under Race).

Bantustans: These homelands of the Bantu, within the borders of South Africa, are part and parcel of the government's policy of racial or 'national' self-determination. Here, according to the government policy, the Bantu will eventually govern autonomously, develop their own industry and economy and prosper within the South African Commonwealth--ideally a situation of interdependence and reciprocal benefit (La Guma, 1971). These nine Bantustans, which consist of approximately thirteen percent of the total land surface of South Africa, are scattered over a large area.

Black: (see under Race).

Caste: It refers to "an endogamous and hierarchized group in which one is born and out of which one cannot move" (van den Berghe, 1967, p. 10).

Change Agent: "Change agent refers to the helper, the person or group who is attempting to effect change" (Bennis, 1962, p. 5). In this study sport is looked upon as the "helper" to "effect change". Some scholars prefer the term change agency in a similar context.

Coloured: (see under Race).

Cross-cultural social institution: This combination of terms refers to an institution with which all or most of the different cultures within a plural society identifies.

Cultural gap: A separation created by a lack of understanding, communication and accomodation between the different cultures within the same society.

Discrimination: "Discrimination comes about only when we deny to individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish" (Allport, 1958, p. 50). Theodorson (1970) states that this unequal treatment of individuals or groups is based upon some attribute, usually categorically, such as "racial, ethnic, religious, or social-class membership" (p. 115).

Ethnic group:

> A group with a common cultural tradition and a sense of identity which consists as a subgroup of larger society. The members of an ethnic group differs with regard to certain cultural characteristics from other members of the society--religion, language and customs (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1970, p. 135).

Ethnocentrism: The "belief in the unique value and 'rightness' of one's own group" has been labelled ethnocentrism (Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p. 106). It is the fundamental attitude underlying the use of prejudice as a group weapon.

Integration: (see under Social integration).

Minority

> We may define a minority group as a group of people whom, because of their physical or cultural

> characteristics, are singled out form others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of discrimination. The existence of a minority in a society implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group enjoying higher social status and greater priviledges . . . minorities are not to be judged in terms of numbers. The people whom we regard as a minority may actually, from a numerical standpoint, be a majority . . . (but) are an unmistakable minority in the sense that they are socially, politically and economically subordinate (Wirth, 1965, pp. 309-310).

Nation: "A distinct race of people, characterized by common descent, language and history, organized as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory" (The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 1968, p. 1311).

The South African government recognizes four racial groups within its jurisdiction which have subdivided into thirteen nations. The white racial group, despite a variety of ethnic origins, is considered a nation. The same situation holds true for the Asians and the Coloureds. However, within the ranks of the Bantu peoples--which constitutes 15,057,952 of the total 21,446,841 population--ten different nations are recognized by the government: Zulu (4,026,058), Xhosa (3,930,087), Tswana (1,719,367), North Sotho (1,600,000). South Sotho (1,420,000), Shangaan (731,000), Venda (375,919), South Ndebele (230,000), North Ndebele (180,000) and Other Bantu (314,000).

> It is, therefore, unjustified to state that 3,750,000 Whites face a solid block of about 15,000,000 Bantu. Actually, the Whites are the second strongest group among the numerous groups forming the population of the Republic of South Africa (State of South Africa Yearbook, 1974, p. 52).

Prejudice: It refers to "An emotional rigid attitude (a predisposition to respond to a certain stimulus in a certain way) towards a group of people" (Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p. 24).

Power:

> The ability of an individual or group to carry out its wishes or policies, and to control, manipulate, or influence the behaviour of others, whether they wish to cooperate or not. The agent who possesses power has resources to force his will on others (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1970, p. 307).

Pluralism:

> That condition in which there is formal diversity in the basis systems of compulsory institutions . . . The dominant social section that controls the apperatus of power and force, and this is the basis of the status hierarchies that characterizes pluralism (Smith, 1965, pp. 82,86).

Race:

> An anthropological classification dividing mankind into several divisions and subdivisions. The criteria for labelling the various races are based essentially on physical characteristics of size, the shape of the head, eyes, ears, lips and nose, and the color skin and eyes (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1970, p. 135).

In South Africa this definition is given a social base. Four races are recognized by the present government: Whites, Coloureds, Asians and the Bantu. The latter three races suffer the same social and political disenfranchisement and they are classifying themselves into the category of Blacks. The government is still refering to these three races collectively as non-Whites. In this study two terms will be used as references to the races in South Africa: Whites and Blacks.

Social change: "Social change is the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system" (Rogers, 1971, p. 7).

Social institution: A social institution develops as an interrelated system to satisfy an important need in society. Commonly accepted social institutions are religion, economy, politics, education, recreation/sport and the family.

Social integration: This term refers to symbiotic interdependence and equal access to society of all peoples in the same society. It differs from amalgamation in that biological mixing is not necessary. Furthermore, it differs from assimilation in that cultural identity does not necessarily have to be erased.

Sport: In this study the term sport refers to organized games played on a competitive basis.

Stereotyping: It refers to the categorization of individuals or groups by means of biased, exaggerated, oversimplified generalizations in the tradition of prejudice. Stereotyping, however, could be applied unfavorably as well as favorably (Simpson and Yinger, 1972).

HYPOTHESES

The word hypothesis refers to "a provisional supposition which . . . serves as a starting point for further investigation by which it may be proved or disproved" (Onions, 1968, p. 946). In this study the hypotheses will be treated accordingly. The review of theory and research summarized above, allowed for the development of a number of research hypotheses. The hypotheses will be empirically tested as segments of the key concepts. All the hypotheses are directly related to the independent variables of race and group affiliation (athletes, politicians and sports administrators)

Hypotheses Concerning the Relative Importance of Sport

a. To the individual:

A number of scholars have indicated through their writings that sport is major importance to South Africans (Thompson, 1964) (Brutus, 1971) (Lapchick, 1973, 1974) (Scholtz, 1974). This may be true but little, if any, empirical research data is available to support these claims. Perhaps by comparing the popularity of the institution of sport to other important institutions in the South African society, the relative importance, or indeed unimportance, of sport could be measured.

7 1. The institution of sport is of greater consequence to members of sample than other important social institutions.

b. To the government:

Through the great variety of foreign and domestic newspaper reports, as documented in the writings of Lapchick (1973), as well as through the writings of scholars such as Scholtz (1974), Brutus (1971) de Broglio (no date) and Worrall (1972), one becomes aware of the sensitivity of the South African government as it pertains to political pressures through the medium of sport. Recent concessions made by the government in South African sport supports this point. Are South Africans aware of the importance of sport to their government and is there a significant diversity in awareness along racial lines?

2. Black respondents are more aware of the importance of sport to the government than white respondents.

Hypothesis Concerning Government Involvement in Sport

The unequal relationship between the privileges white South Africans enjoy and the relative absence of privileges for the black sector of the population have been extensively documented (van den Berge, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1970) (Kuper, 1969) (La Guma, 1971) (Kinloch, 1974). The government, through the means of legislation, is actively involved in preserving the status quo and consequently white dominance with its accompanying privileges. The involvement of government in all social spheres through the policy of separate development, is accepted by the white populace at large as normal the only means for peaceful co-existence (Rhoodie and Venter, 1959).

3. White respondents support government involvement in sport more than their black counterparts.

Hypothesis Concerning International Sports Boycotts

Sports boycotts have and are being utilized as a means to pressure the South African government into extending civil liberties to the black people of the country, (Brutus,

1971) (Lapchick, 1973, 1974).

4. Whites in the sample are more opposed to international sports boycotts than the black respondents.

Hypotheses Concerning Racial Stereotyping

Stereotyping finds major application in minority-dominant group situations as a ". . . justification device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group, and as . . . a device to maintain simplicity in perception and in thinking" (Allport, 1958, p. 188). Cleaver (1968) accuses the American society of stereotypes based on the color of a person's skin--do these stereotypes hold true for the South African society?

5. Both racial groups in the sample assume that white South Africans have greater inherent intelligence than black South Africans.
6. Both racial groups in the sample assume that black South Africans have greater inherent physical prowess than white South Africans.

Hypothesis Concerning Sport and Racial Relations

Scholars such as Thompson (1964), Edwards (1974), Hoch (1972), Yetman and Eitzen (1974) have argued both for the integrative functions of sport as well as for the discriminatory opportunities sport presents along racial lines. Which approach does the South African politicians, sports administrators and athletes prescribe to?

7. Athletic and sports administrative respondents are more convinced of the positive influences of interracial sport upon relations than the politicians in the sample.

Hypotheses Concerning Racial Integration

Disenfranchised peoples the world over aspire to obtain their liberty and equal access to the societies they live in (Simpson and Yinger, 1972) (Randall, 1970) (van den Berge 1967). The practice of separate development does not provide the black South African with civil rights (Schlemmer, 1970) (La Guma, 1971) (Pomeroy, 1973). Could racial integration in the institution of sport come about and what effects would it have on other social institutions--will South Africans accept such a situation?

8. Black respondents accept racially integrated sport more readily than do their white counter-parts.
9. Blacks in the sample accept racial integration in industry more readily than do the Whites in the sample.
10. Black respondents favor total social integration more than do the white respondents.

STATISTICAL TREATMENT

In this study both nominal and ordinal level data were collected by means of a questionnaire. Standard statistical procedures were consequently applied as means to analyze the data. Parametric statistics, which were originally designed to test interval level data but subsequently proved to be valid for testing nominal and ordinal level data, were used in this study (Anderson, 1970) (Gaito, 1970). A number of advantages associated with parametric statistics, primarily in assessing interacting effects, justify their use in situations where nominal level data is used. As a statistical measurement it has proven more powerful than non-parametric statistics.

Fisher's F-test was a statistic used in this study and was used in a two-way analysis of variance. Certain key concepts were analyzed by means of this statistical test. This was accomplished by totalling the scores of a number of answers within a particular category to create an index.

Pearson product moment correlation coefficients were used to examine the relationships among questionnaire variables which yielded interval level data. Several social science methodologists argue that the Pearson correlation coefficients may be used even if data satisfy only the assumptions of ordinal level measurement (Nie, et.al., 1975).

In this study the hypotheses have been stated in a specific direction rather than in the typical form.

DELIMITATIONS

1. For practical reasons the four officially recognized racial groups (national groups) were narrowed down to two, in correspondence with governmental classification of Whites and non-Whites. In this study the term Blacks is substituted for non-Whites. Whites refer to all white South Africans, while Blacks include the Bantu, Asiatics and Cape Coloureds.
2. Three different affiliation groups were chosen for the sample--athletes, politicians and sports administrators.
3. Sports in which both races have reached international standards and in which they have shown comparable levels of performance were selected. All the athletes in the selected sample had competed internationally.
4. Sports administrators who have represented their province or their country in this capacity, were selected as respondents. Politicians of highest importance (ministers, members of parliament, party leaders, homeland leaders, and so forth) were selected. In both politics and the administrative portion of sport, only those individuals closest to, if not part of, the decision-making apparatus were considered.
5. Names and addresses of respondents in the politician category were obtained from the South African

Institute of Race Relations and the Centre of Intergroup Studies, while the various sports governing bodies in turn supplied the names of sports administrators and athletes. Respondents in the latter category were randomly selected, while availability, time and finances proved to be delimiting factors in the selection of the sports administrators and politicians.

6. The availibility of time and finances furthermore delimited the interviewing process as it pertained to the politicians and sports administrators. The athletes in turn were questioned by means of a mailed questionnaire.
7. The sample numbers were delimited to eighty athletes, twenty politicians and twenty sports administrators, with half the number of each group being Whites and the other half Blacks.
8. Communication in the questionnaire was restricted to the two official languages of South Africa.

LIMITATIONS

1. The unavailability of black politicians and sports administrators proved to be a handicap in obtaining approximate numerical equality along racial lines. While white politicians were located in the major metropolitan centres and relatively easy to reach at their homes or offices, black politicians were not as readily available. A number of the black leaders

reside in homelands and their isolation made communication a problem. Other black politicians and sports administrators are black township dwellers where night-time visits by Whites are curtailed by law. Some of the black politicians and a number of the black sports administrators worked in rigidly controlled job situations and thus were not allowed time to be interviewed during the week.

2. Another sampling problem contributed to the low response rate in the athlete category. Mailing a questionnaire, accompanied by an explanatory note, as compared to the author completing the questionnaire during separate interviews, proved quite ineffective. A number of circumstances--such as a lack of time for interviewing each athlete and night-time restrictions in black townships--left this procedure as the only alternative.
3. Another possible limiting factor in the response rate of the athlete category has to do with the nature of the study. The involvement of government in sport necessitated the inclusion of certain socio-political questions in the questionnaire. Since the South African government has not accepted negative criticism of its policies graciously and since the return address on the mailed envelope was in South Africa, some would-be respondents could have been discouraged form becoming involved in the study.

4. An additional limiting factor could be that many of the originally selected sample might have been indifferent to and/or satisfied with the status quo, thus refusing to participate.
5. This study could have been hindered by a lack of educational skills of a sector of the athlete sample. No methods were available to the author to measure educational levels prior to the actual data collection. Although oversampling was used as a means to compensate for this problem, illiteracy and/or language problems might have been major deterents for obtaining a satisfactory response to the mailed questionnaires.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The data is analyzed under five main headings in this chapter. Each of these headings, referred to as key concepts, indicate an area under investigation in the study. Comments about each key concept will be made under the headings of Results and Discussion. The results section presents the statistical data as well as the corresponding graphs. The discussion section presents qualitative data from the personal interview session to illustrate typical viewpoints of opinion leaders in politics and sport. In addition, an attempt has been made to use the qualitative data to explicate the discussion of research findings, relative to previous writings and the various theoretical concepts.

Key concept 1: The importance of sport to the individual in South Africa

Results:

This key concept was aimed at measuring the comparative status of sport relative to other important social institutions in South Africa. In order to obtain this information, the sample was asked to rank the four social institutions of sport, economy, politics and religion in terms of which was important to them on a one to four scale. Of the total sample of sixty-nine less than fifty respondends completed this question.[5]

Contigency tables were used to analyze the subsequent data. Two sets of tabulations were used for this purpose. The one set of tabulations involved collapsing the first and second options as well as the third and forth selections together (tables 2-6). The other set of tabulations simply presents the frequency distribution of the actual responses (tables 7-10). In both cases the analyses were based upon the independent variables of race and group affiliation.

There are two reasons for collapsing the choices in the first set of tabulations. The first reason was to reduce them into two categories: institutional importance versus institutional unimportance. The second reason is related to expected behaviour and social norms. In South Africa, due to the predominance of Calvinism in the religious life of the country, religion is accepted by many as the most important influence in the individual's life. Although the individual might answer this way on paper, it might not necessarily reflect his or her true sentiments. Instead it could be interpreted as a loyalty to prevailing social norms.

It was predicted that sport would prove to be of greater importance to the sample than any of the other three prominent social institutions. In addition it was expected that racial origin would not play a significant role in the importance South Africans attach to sport.

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[5] The required information for this key concept was on an additional sheet of paper which was attached to the main questionnarie. Some optional questions, such as name, age and religion were also included on this sheet (appendix 3). The possibility exists that some of the respondents assumed that their responses to this key concept were also optional, with the result that some did not answer the question.

Table 2[6] indicates that sport was considered of greatest personal importance by the highest percentage of repondents. The economy and religion were second and third respectively, while politics was considered substantially less important. By the same token, results of third and fourth choices reveal that only a small percentage of the sample saw sport as being least important (18.6%), while religion, economy and politics followed in order of preference.

In the three categories of sport, economy and religion, a higher percentage of respondents believed them to be of personal importance (first and second options), as compared to lacking in importance (third and fourth selections). With sport the 65.2 to 34.8 percent ratio is significant at the .001 level for group affiliation (table 3b). Trends were evident in both economics and religion, at .08 and .09 levels respectively, that the importance the respondents attach to them might be reflected in the larger population of athletes, politicians and sports administrators (economics 56.5 to 43.5 percent and religion 58.1 to 41.9

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[6] Table 2 presents a condensed form of tables 3 to 6, minus the independent variables of race and group affiliation.

percent). In the category of politics, however, 72.7 percent of the respondents assumed it to be of little personal importance, while 27.3 percent considered politics important (table 6). This ratio is significant at the .001 level for group affliction.

One hundred percent of the politicians saw sport as being unimportant to them personally (.001 level), while 87.0 percent of the athletes and 78.6 percent of the sports administrators believed politics to be of little personal importance (.001 level) (tables 3b and 5b).

Although the results are not statistically significant, the expected congruency between black and white responses in the sample is noticable. Of the total number choosing sport, as the most important institution, 65 percent were Whites, while 65.4 percent were Blacks. In consolidated form the data suggests further congruence in the opinion of Whites and Blacks on the three other institutions. In the economy category 60.0 percent of the total number of Blacks responding to this category, chose economy to be of major importance while 58.8 percent of the Whites responded in a similar fashion. Corresponding relationships between black and white responses were recorded in the politics and religion catergories (tables 3-6).

Looking at this question from a different perspective, the athletes and the sports administors were supportive of the economy as an institution, 65.4 and 57.1 percent

Table 1

Breakdown of sample according to race and group affiliation

		Race		
		Whites	Blacks	
Affiliation	Athletes	13	13	26
	Politicians	16	6	22
	Sports Administrators	13	8	21
		42	27	69

Table 2

Rank order of four major social institutions based on personal preferance

Count Row Pct.	Sport	Economy	Politics	Religion	
First Choice	13 27.7	7 14.9	6 12.8	21 44.7	47 100
Second Choice	17 37.0	19 41.3	6 13.0	4 8.7	46 100
Total	30 32.3	26 27.9	12 12.9	25 26.9	93 100
Col. Pct.	65.2	56.5	27.3	58.1	
Third Choice	6 14.0	15 34.9	13 30.2	9 20.9	43 100
Forth Choice	10 23.3	5 11.6	19 44.2	9 20.9	43 100
Total	16 18.6	20 23.3	32 37.2	18 20.9	86 100
Col. Pct.	34.8	43.5	72.7	41.9	

Table 3 a

Consolidated responses concerning the comparative importance of sport, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
1st & 2nd choices	17 65.4	13 65.0	30 65.2
3rd & 4th choices	9 34.6	7 35.0	16 34.8
	26	20	46

Raw chi sq.: 0.081 D.F.:1 Sign.: 0.776

Table 3b

Consolidated responses concerning the comparative importance of sport, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athls.	Poltcs.	Spt. Adms.	Row total
1st & 2nd choices	20 76.9	0	10 71.4	30 65.2
3rd & 4th choices	6 23.1	6 100	4 28.6	16 34.8
	26	6	14	46

Raw chi sq.: 13.059 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.0015

Table 4a

Consolidated responses concerning the comparative importance of religion, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
1st & 2nd choices	15 57.7	10 58.8	25 58.1
3rd & 4th choices	11 42.3	7 41.2	18 41.9
	26	17	43

Raw chi sq.: 0.059 D.F.: 1 Sign.: 0.808

Table 4b

Consolidated responses concerning the comparative importance of religion, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
1st & 2nd choices	12 52.1	6 100.0	7 50.0	25 58.1
3rd & 4th choices	11 47.8	0	7 50.0	18 41.9
	23	6	14	43

Raw chi sq.: 5.037 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.081

Table 5a

Consolidated responses concerning the comparative importance of economy, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
1st & 2nd choices	14 53.8	12 60.0	26 56.5
3rd & 4th choices	12 46.2	8 40.0	20 43.5
	26	20	46

Raw chi sq.: 0.014 D.F.: 1 Sign.: 0.907

Table 5b

Consolidated responses concerning the comparative importance of economy, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
1st & 2nd choices	17 65.4	1 16.7	8 57.1	26 56.5
3rd & 4th choices	9 34.6	5 83.3	6 42.9	20 43.5
	26	6	14	46

Raw chi sq.: 4.711 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.095

Table 6a

Consolidated responses concerning the comparative importance of politics, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
1st & 2nd choices	7 25.9	5 29.4	12 27.3
3rd & 4th choices	20 74.1	12 70.6	32 72.7
	27	17	44

Raw chi sq.: 0.009 D.F.: 1 Sign.:0.925

Table 6b

Consolidated responses concerning the comparative importance of politics, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
1st & 2nd choices	3 13.0	6 85.7	3 21.4	12 27.3
3rd & 4th choices	20 87.0	1 14.3	11 78.6	32 72.7
	23	7	14	44

Raw chi sq.: 14.642 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.0007

Table 7a

Responses to the first most important institution, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
Sport	8 29.6	5 25.0	13 27.7
Economy	3 11.1	4 20.0	7 14.9
Politics	2 7.4	4 20.0	6 12.8
Religion	14 51.9	7 35.0	21 44.7
	27	20	47

Raw chi sq.: 2.856 D.F.: 3 Sign.: 0.414

Table 7b

Responses to the first most important institution, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
Sport	10 38.5	0	3 23.1	13 27.7
Economy	3 11.5	0	4 28.6	7 14.9
Politics	2 7.7	1 14.3	3 21.4	6 12.8
Religion	11 42.3	6 85.7	4 28.6	21 44.7
	26	7	14	47

Raw chi sq.: 11.071 D.F.: 6 Sign.: 0.086

Table 8a

Responses to the second most important institution, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
Sport	9 34.6	8 40.0	17 37.0
Economy	11 42.3	8 40.0	19 41.3
Politics	5 19.2	1 5.0	6 13.0
Religion	1 3.8	3 15.0	4 8.7
	26	20	46

Raw chi sq.: 3.476 D.F.: 3 Sign.: 0.324

Table 8b

Responses to the second most important institution, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
Sport	10 38.5	0	7 50.0	17 37.0
Economy	14 53.8	1 16.7	4 28.6	19 41.3
Politics	1 3.8	5 83.3	0	6 13.0
Religion	1 3.8	0	3 21.4	4 8.7
	26	6	14	46

Raw chi sq.: 35.374 D.F.: 6 Sign.: 0.000

Table 9a

Responses to the third most important institution, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
Sport	3 11.5	3 17.6	6 14.0
Economy	10 38.5	5 29.4	15 34.9
Politics	8 30.8	5 29.4	13 30.2
Religion	5 19.2	4 23.5	9 20.9
	26	17	43

Raw chi sq.: 0.613 D.F.: 3 Sign.: 0.893

Table 9b

Responses to the third most important institution, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
Sport	2 8.7	0	4 28.6	6 14.0
Economy	7 30.4	5 83.3	3 21.4	15 34.9
Politics	8 34.8	1 16.7	4 28.6	13 30.2
Religion	6 26.1	0	3 21.4	9 20.9
	23	6	14	43

Raw chi sq.: 10.417 D.F.: 6 Sign.: 0.108

Table 10a

Responses to the forth most important institution, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
Sport	4 23.1	6 23.5	10 23.3
Economy	2 7.7	3 17.6	5 11.6
Politics	12 40.2	7 41.2	19 44.2
Religion	6 23.1	3 17.6	9 20.9
	26	17	43

Raw chi sq.: 1.079 D.F.: 3 Sign.: 0.782

Table 10b

Responses to the forth most important institution, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
Sport	4 17.4	6 100.0	0	10 23.3
Economy	2 8.7	0	3 21.4	5 11.6
Politics	12 52.2	0	7 50.0	19 44.2
Religion	5 21.7	0	4 28.6	9 20.9
	23	6	14	43

Raw chi sq.: 25.560 D.F.: 6 Sign.: 0.0003

respectively, while only 16.7 percent of the politicians were concerned with this position (table 4b). While approximately 50.0 percent of the athletes and the sports administrators indicated that religion was of foremost importance, 100 percent of the politicians stated that religion was of utmost importance. (table 6b).

Although sport was portrayed as being the most important institution in the consolidated tables it proved to be in second position in the ranking of both first and second most important institutions. Religion received 44.7 percent of the responses for the most important institution, followed by sport with 27.7 percent and economy and politics at 14.9 and 12.8 percent respectively (table 7). As second most important instution, sport was close behind the economy--41.3 to 37.0 percent (table 8). Interesting to note here is that in this category, religion was considered even less important that politics by 8.7 to 13.0 percent. Statistics indicate that it is very likely that this ratio also occurs in the population that the affiliaion group section of the sample respresents (.001 level). The results in consolidated form support the stated hypothesis that sport is of greater consequence to the sample.

Discussion:

A number of social scientists have convincingly pointed out the importance of sport in the South African society and its consequent importance as a political tool (Lapchick, 1973 and 1974) (Brutus, 1971) (Louw, 1974) (Scholtz, 1974).

Interviewees in general supported the views of the above named scholars. Dr. Hansie Pollock, a prominent personality in liberal politics for many years, declared that South Africans ". . . are sports minded and--sports take precedence over everything". Mr. David Currie, vice-president of the Coloured Labor Party, stressed the point that sport could effectively be utilized as a means to change attitudes ". . . because sport is of the greatest importance to South Africans".

The director of the Center of Intergroup Studies in Cape Town, Professor H.W. van der Merwe, indicated, that due to its great popularity, sport could play an important role in imporving inter-racial communication. In the same vein Dr. Cedric Pathudi, first minister of the Lebowa homeland, pointed out that tensions could be significantly reduced through inter-racial sport. It is his contention that because both racial groups have a natural affection for sport they will realize, through competing against and with one another, that they have something in common. Dr. Danie Craven, chairman of the South African Rugby Board and dean of the Physical Education Department at the University of Stellenbosch, claimed that the sports boycotts really brought home the realization that ". . . sport is of the greatest importance to South Africans" (tr).

A number of pro-government interviewees showed concern for the mass popularity of sport and felt it could possibly cause an imbalance in the social equilibrium of the country.

Dr. Hannes Botha chairman of the Physical Education Department of the University of Pretoria, suggested that sport as a social institution is without a doubt very powerful in South Africa, "but one should guard against a loss in balance" (tr.). In this regard Dr. A.P Treurnicht, Member of Parliament and president of the right-winged Broederbond organization, suggested that sport must never become so strong as to overrule other values.

Brutus (1971) suggests that through the medium of sport the white population feels a link with the outside world and furthermore the "national psyche" finds compensation through sport (p 151). Sehume, sports edition of World newspaper, which has a large circulation, points out that sport is of major importance to the black people of South Africa because of the possibilities it represents. He reasons that "White South Africians as such, essentially and above all else are great sportsmen and will not turn down an able and excellent black sportsman".

Based upon this presumption, he is convinced that fully integrated sport is inevitable and that sport will lead the way for integration in other areas of society, with eventual equal access to society for all. Sport to the South African Blacks is a means "to open locked doors" (Sehume). This rationale is fully endorsed by Mr. Lennox Mlonzi, president of the South Africa Cricket Union.[8]

Why is sport so important to South Africans? Louw (1972) suggests this is because the splendid year round climate is conducive to outdoor activities, while the abundance of open spaces may also have a contributing influence. He continues to speculate that the open spaces give a sense of freedom which might be related to the devotion of South Africans to sport.

> Could it be that man can only reach maximum freedom (independence) in the present society through involvement with some form of play and that sport fulfills this need in the apartheid situation? (Louw, 1972, p.3)

Whatever the rationale may be behind the values attached to sport by the different sections of the population, two important issues emerged from the results pertaining to this key concept. Firstly, there is a close correspondence between the individual impressions of those who wrote about and discussed the importance of sport to South Africans, and the results of this study. What were previously subjective impressions now have some support from the results of this study. Secondly, the congruity of white and black responses towards the importance of sport, suggests a possible common value across racial barriers.

Lapchick's (1973) suggestion that sport in South Africa is "approaching the status of a national religion", might find some substantiation in this study. Dr. Beyers Naude, former moderator of the powerful Dutch Reformed Church, reiterates that the power of religion and the church within the South African society; in his opinion, "the strongest single factor in bringing about change in South Africa could be the impact of the Dutch Reformed Church . . ." (Naude). The church, however, is not willing to take the lead, whereas sport, with its great popularity, is actively involved.

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[8] The South Africa Cricket Union is a black sports body which is affiliated with the main white cricket body.

During the course of the interviews all the politicians stressed the importance of sport within the social structure of South Africa. Their actual questionnaire respones, however, did not indicate the same belief in the importance of sport. This situation seems quite logical when perceived in the context of personal importance versus the importance attached to sport by the government or society at large.

Max Weber'S (1930) analysis of Calvinism could possibly clarify the strong support the respondents demonstrated for religion. Weber suggest that man is anxious and preoccupied with the phenomenon of predestination and this apprehensiveness is manifested in deep religious beliefs. This may be the case for members of this sample. In essence then, Calvinism brings home the 'heaven versus hell' ideology which in turn causes individual anxiety and preoccupation with religion. The strong support rendered by the respondents for religion as first choice and virtual non-support as second choice, illustrates this preoccupation. A majority of those that responded to the 'religion' category of the questionnaire, indicated to be of either Dutch Reformed or Methodist religious persuasion--both of these religions endorse Calvinistic teachings. It is interesting to note is that large percentages in all three affiliation groups showed high regard for the religion category.

Based upon Karl Marx's theory of politico-economic exploitation of minorities through the use of power, a stronger response could have been expected from the Blacks in the sample toward the economic category as first choice. Economy, power and status in most of the western world indicate a strong relationship. Simpson and Yinger (1972) recognize this relationship: "Among the most important indications of the status and power of a group is its place in the economic structure" (p. 313). Parsons (1958) suggests that in the United States of America vertical stratification is greatly enhanced by the amassing of monetary assets. In the South African situation, however, economic wealth cannot obtain power and/or elevated status for the Black in the society at large. The policy of separate development prevents any black person from sharing economic opportunities on an equal basis. This predicament probably prevented the Blacks in the sample from showing stronger support for the economic category. As mentioned above, the medium of sport, on the other hand, is innovating change and creating opportunities for the black person (Naude) (Sehume)

(Mlonzi).

The research data suggests that relatively little interest is shown for politics among athletes and sports administrators in both racial groups. Currie claims politics is of such limited importance to South Africans when compared with sport, that a choice between the two would most definitely lead to the collapse of the South African government. Brutus (1971) graphically illustrates the unimportance of politics to white South Africans by alleging that political reflection is limited to election days, while sport forms part of the daily routine of millions. The relative disinterest of Blacks towards politics in the framework of separate development is quite comprehensible. Kinloch (1974) points out that this policy leaves little, if any, room for Blacks to participate on an equal basis in any institution of the society.

Key concept 2: The importance of sport to the government of South Africa.

Results:

There is little doubt that international pressure groups recognize the importance of sport to the South African government (Lapchick, 1973, 1974). How well this fact is recognized domestically, however, has never been empirically established. The purpose of this section, therefore, is to determine whether, and to what extent, the sample recognizes the importance of sport to the government. Sixty-nine respondents reacted to questions in this area.

Four questions were utilized to measure the attitudes of the respondents on this matter. The responses to these questions were combined into two contingency tables, one controlling for race and the other controlling for group affiliation (tables 11a and 11b).

The first of the four question states: Is sport of importance to the government?" (Q. 17). A second question investigated the possibility of the government experiencing pressure from its supporters to ease the apartheid legislation in sport (Q. 23). The third question examined this issue from a level of greater personal significance. The game of rugby is the national game of South Africa and as such is followed rather feverishly by a large percentage of the population. Brutus (1971) claims that "disasters and national affairs elsewhere are mere trifles compared to a rugby victory . . ." (p. 151). Based upon this knowledge, the respondents were questioned as to whether South Africans would be dissatisfied with the government if the country was to be expelled from international competition in rugby (Q. 31). The final question investigated the possibility of changes in sport threatening the structure of apartheid.

It was expected that the sample would recognize the importance of sport to the government. Recent literature abounds with case studies testifying to the considerable sensitivity manifested by the South African government to the international politico-sports boycotts (Scholtz, 1974) (Lapchick, 1973 and 1974) (Brutus, 1971) (de Broglio, no

Table 11a

Respondents' perceptions of the importance sport has for the government, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
yes	10 23.8	14 51.9	24 34.8
undecided	31 73.8	12 44.4	43 62.3
no	1 2.4	1 3.7	2 2.9
	42	27	69

Raw chi sq.: 6.089 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.048

Table 11b

Respondents' perceptions of the importance sport has for the government, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
yes	7 26.9	12 54.5	5 23.8	24 34.8
undecided	18 69.2	10 45.5	15 71.4	43 62.3
no	1 3.8	0	1 4.8	2 2.9
	26	22	21	69

Raw chi sq.: 6.112 D.F.: 4 Sign.: 0.191

date). Twenty-two, of the sixty-nine respondent sample were politicians and in that capacity it was expected that, because of their special status, they would be able to contribute significantly to the investigation of this issue. Furthermore, it was presumed that the Blacks in the sample would be more aware of the importance of sport to the government than their white counterparts.

Thirty-four point eight percent of the total sample were convinced that sport was of importance to the South African government. Only 2.9 percent deemed sport as inconsequential to the government's interest. The majority of the respondents (63.3 percent) were undecided on this topic. Of the total number suggesting that sport is of importance to the government, 58.3 percent were Blacks (table 11a). Fifty-one point nine percent of the total number of Blacks in the sample considered sport as being important to the government, while only 23.8 percent of the Whites did likewise. These figures support the hypothesis that Blacks in the sample are more aware of the importance of sport to the government than their white counterparts. The vast majority of the Whites in the sample (73.8 percent) were undecided. Forty-four point four percent of the black respondents were uncommitted on this question. Of the total number of respondents claiming that they were undecided, 72.1 percent were Whites. The differences between the black and white respondents on this question was significent at the .05 level of confidence.

In the group affiliation category there is a close relationship between the responses of the athletes and sports administrators on this particular issue. Of the total number of athletes, 26.9 percent thought that sport was of importance to the government, while 23.8 percent of the total number of sports administrators supported this view. Sixty-nine point two percent of the athletes were undecided on this topic, as were 71.4 percent of the sports administrators (table 11b). Conversely, over fifty percent of the politicians, indicated that the institution of sport was considered of major importance by the government. Although none of the politicians disagreed with this fact, 45.5 percent were undecided.

Discussion:

The following excerpts from the interview sessions are typical of the broad range of viewpoints on this matter. Dr. Albert Hertzog, leader of the right-winged Herstigte Nasionale Party, believed that the government's preoccupation with sport and the concessions given sport is an indication that ". . . sport is the weakest link in their interpretation of separate development" (tr.). Dr. Chris Jooste, director of the pro-government South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, claimed that sport is important to the government from the point of view that through international sport ". . . each athlete is an ambassador to his or her country" (tr.). Sport, according to him, is not considered a potential threat to apartheid and from that point of view sport is not considered as being overly important to the government.

A prominent Nationalist Party member, Dr. A.P. Treurnicht, saw the situation in more basic terms. He claims that sport is important to the South African government because sport and politics cannot be separated and "Sport is being used as a lever to force South Africa into integration . . ." (tr.). Dr. Beyers Naude, former moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church and presently director of the apartheid opposed Christian Institute of Southern Africa, sums up the previous two opinions:

> Sport is very important to the government, otherwise it would not have made the concessions. Although present developments point that way, government does not seem to be too concerned about the possibility of sport breaking down the structure of apartheid.

Sehume expresses the black man's opinion about the influence of sport upon the government: "Sport is definitely a threat to apartheid and the government is aware of it".

In the light of these comments and in the light of previous studies, the present statistical results are somewhat surprising. It was expected that a much larger percentage of the sample would proclaim the importance of sport to the government. It is possible however, that this initial impression could be quite misleading. The nature of the standard analytical procedure makes for high 'undecided' percentages, causing the difference between positive and negative responses to be of major consequence to the analyst.[7] In this particular key concept the difference is quite substantial, with approximately thirty-two percent more respondents believing that sport is of importance to the government than those believing the contrary.

It is also of significance to note that the Blacks in the sample put much more emphasis on the important overtones sport conveys to the government that did the white respondents. Furthermore, of the total number of respondents who were undecided, three-quarters were white. Perhaps the Blacks in this sample are substantially more aware of the political implications of sport because of the opportunities it suggests to the black South African? Both Sehume and Howa in interviews indicated that they believe Blacks in South Africa have attached great socio-political importance to sport.

By the same token, the Whites in South Africa are generally not as concerned with negative aspects of separate development, therefore, to them sport does not hold similar implications. After all, the Whites have political and civil rights. Furthermore, sport does not represent a direct threat to the white populace, with the result that this issue on the importance of sport to the government might not have been given much thought prior to this questionnaire. This is, in the final analysis, a political issue and South Africans claim not to be politically oriented (Brutus, 1971). Government involvement with sport and the influences of sport upon the government would probably not cause any undue concern to most Whites, since the government is involved in all spheres of society in maintaining the status quo.

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[7] A number of questions relating to the same topic, constitute the key concept in each case (four questions in this particular case). In order to obtain one set of statistics for the key concept, the reactions of each respondent to all the questions in the key concept are averaged and rounded off. Accoring to this method of analysis (contingency tables), and given that four questions were used in this key concept, an averaged 'yes' response could only result from four positive responses or three positive and an 'undecided' responses. The same situation holds true for an averaged 'no'. Any other combination would consequently result in an 'undecided' response. (Even though the key concept values are averaged and look somewhat like continuous variables, analysis of variance is not an appropiate statistical tool here because these variables are not normally distributed).

The high number of 'undecided' responses by white athletes and white sports administrators could possibly be explained by the above speculations. Most of the white sports administrators that were interviewed preferred not to be drawn into any political discussions, as they were concerned with expressing a neutral position (le Roux) (Zagnoev) (Craven) (Smit). One distinctly got the impression that politics should be left to politicians--says Dr. Danie Craven, chairman of the South African Rugby Board: "My politics is rugby" (1974, tr). The majority of their black counterparts, on the contrary, showed no hesitation in expressing the opinion that sport is of great importance to the South African government (Howa) (Loriston) (Moretlo) (Mlonzi). Their positive reactions to the issue at hand are hardly surprising since some of them had direct dealings with cabinet ministers in discussions on the future of sport in South Africa. Mr. Hassan Howa, as a prime example, was summoned by the Minister of Sport, Dr. Piet Koornhof, to discuss the possibilities of non-racial sport (cricket in particular) in the future (Howa) (see key concept five for particulars).

Among the Blacks that were interviewed, two main theories dealing with the influence of sport on the government emerged. The one theory maintained that due to pressures put on the government by the electorate for international sports participation and due to the conditions set by international sports governing bodies for readmittance, integration in sport will become a reality in the near future. It follows that integration in one institution would then lend to integration in other institutions, with full social integration as the end result (Sehume) (Howa). Currie's theory, on the other hand, advocates that the present concessions in domestic sport by the Ministry of Sport merely served to initially appease the electorate while preserving the status quo. He suggests however, that the South African Whites are too fond of sport to settle for anything less than full international sports recognition in the long run.

The substantially higher percentage of politicians (as compared to other affiliation groups) recognizing sport as being important to the government, was not unexpected.

During the personal interviews, all the politicians allowed for the importance of sport in South African politics. The discrepancy between the politicians and the other two affiliation groups on this subject erased any suspicion that the politicians might be naive about the effect of sport on government. The pro-government politicians, unlike the rest, felt assured that with the control government is exercising upon sport, and due to the way of life of South Africans, the policies of separate development will not unduly be disturbed by sport (Treurnicht) (Raubenheimer) (Jooste).

Based on the results of the questionnaires, the interviews and the available literature, it seems fair to claim three major reasons why sport is of such importance to the South African government: domestic popularity of sport, as well as external and internal pressures. Sport is of major importance to the electorate and therefore it is of great importance to the government, since the satisfaction of the electorate is always of great concern to any government. This situation makes sport a rather vulnerable aspect in the composition of the South African social structure and external pressure groups are exploiting sport to manipulte the government. Through the medium of sport the South African government has been exposed internationally and has subsequently been isolated--a great hardship for any nation. Furthermore, the ability of the external pressure groups to initiate changes are buoying the hopes of the domestic Blacks who are anticipating possible future changes. Internal black sports governing bodies are subsequently also pressing their claims for integrated (non-racial) sport with apparent positive results.

Key concept 3: Government involvement in sport and international sports boycotts.

Results:

The purpose of this section is to assess the amount of support the respondents exhibit for the government involvement in sport. In addition this key concept is concerned with the reactions of the respondents to the international sports boycotts against South Africa. In order to satisfy the former purpose, the responses were combined for analysis into two contigency tables, one controlling for race and the other for group affiliation (tables 12a and 12b).

The first question that was used to measure support for government involvement in sport, examines the practice of separating the different races in sport (Q. 1). Question number two utilizes a quote by the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Vorster, to determine the reactions of the respondents to the merger of sports and politics. (Q. 18). The quote used was Vorster's now famous (infamous?) one which stated: ". . . sport must not be dragged into politics . . ." (Hansard, 1967, col. 3968). The next question asks whether or not the respondents think the government of South Africa, is in actual fact, abiding by this philosophy (Q. 19). The final question used as a measurement of the sample's support of their government's involvement in sport, inquires whether or not the respondents approve of the government initiated multi-racial games (Q. 22).

A number of significant correlations were recorded between the questions used for this key concept. Questions one and nineteen showed significant correcation at the .001 level. Additional correlations were recorded at the .05 level of significance between questions eighteen and nineteen, as well as between questions nineteen and twenty-two.

One question was used to investigate the reactions of the respondents to international sports boycotts against their country: ". . . was South Africa's expulsion from international competition justified?" (Q. 21). The responses to this question are presented in two contingency tables, each controlling for one of the two independent variables (tables 13a and 13b).

It was predicted that the white respondents in the sample would be more likely to support government involvement in sport than would the black respondents. This prediction was based on the fact that the South African government has been able to reserve civil rights, and their accompanying benefits, for the Whites only (van den Berghe, 1967) (Kinloch, 1974) (Kuper, 1969). A further prediction was made to the effect that white South Africans in the

Table 12a

Amount of support for government involvement in sport, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row Total
yes	13 31.0	1 3.7	14 20.3
undecided	25 59.5	21 77.8	46 66.7
no	4 9.5	5 18.5	9 13.0
	42	27	69

Raw chi sq.: 7.855 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.019

Table 12b

Amount of support for government involvement in sport, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
yes	1 3.8	6 27.3	7 33.3	14 20.3
undecided	21 80.0	13 59.1	12 57.1	46 66.7
no	4 15.4	3 13.6	2 9.5	9 13.0
	26	22	21	69

Raw chi sq.: 7.320 D.F.: 4 Sign.: 0.119

Table 13a

Support for international sports boycotts against South Africa, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
yes	11 26.2	12 44.4	23 33.3
undecided	15 35.7	5 18.5	20 29.0
no	16 38.1	10 37.0	26 37.7
	42	27	69

Raw chi sq.: 3.43 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.18

Table 13b

Support for international sports boycotts against South Africa, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
yes	9 34.6	10 45.5	4 19.0	23 33.3
undecided	4 15.4	9 40.9	7 33.3	20 29.0
no	13 50.0	3 13.6	10 47.6	26 37.7
	26	22	21	69

Raw chi sq.: 10.15 D.F.: 4 Sign.: 0.038

sample would be more opposed to international sports boycotts than would their black counterparts. This prediction was based upon the assumption that the boycotts were and are conducted for the purpose of changing the South African political system, presumably for the benefit of the black minority (Lapchick, 1973, 1974).

Twenty point three percent of the total sample said they were in favor of government involvement in sport. This percentage represents 31.0 percent of the total white sample and 3.7 percent of the total black sample (table 12a). These statistics suggest a substantially stronger support of government control in sport by the Whites as compared to the Blacks. Thirteen percent of all the respondents disagreed with the mixing of government and sport. This percentage constitutes 18.5 percent of all the Blacks in the sample, plus 9.5 percent of the total amount of Whites. These statistics testify to the contrary attitudes of these two racial groups in the sample: Black opposition to government involvement in sport is 14.8 percent stronger than their support of it, while white support, conversely, is 21.5 percent stronger than their opposition to it. Sixty-six point seven percent of the total number of respondents were undecided on this issue, with 59.5 percent of the Whites and 77.8 percent of the Blacks contributing to that percentage. These findings confirm the hypothesis that white respondents were more in favor of government involvement in sport than were the black respondents. There is a significant likelihood that this relationship between white and black responses will also occur in the population from which the sample was drawn (.02 level).

A trend is apparent in the results of the group affiliation category. The politicians and sports administrators responded in a relatively similar manner, while the athlete attitudes differed markedly from these two groups (table 12b). Whereas the politicians and sports administrators show support of a government merger with sport by percentages of 27.3 and 33.3 percent respectively, only 3.8 percent of the athletes did likewise. Some congruency is demonstrated by the three affiliation groups in terms of their opposition to this issue. Fifty-nine point one and fifty-seven point one percent of the politicians and sports administrators respectively were undecided, while 80.0 percent of the athletes responded similarly.

On the topic of international sports boycotts, the sample again demonstrates black-white response discrepancies. These discrepancies, however, were considerably less than on the previous issue (government in sport). Twenty-six point two percent of the total number of white respondents supported international sports boycotts, while 38.1 percent opposed it. The Black respondents, on the other hand, showed stronger support than opposition to the boycotts (44.4 against 37.0 percent). This then supports the stated hypothesis that Whites are more opposed to international sports boycotts than Blacks. Of particular note is the fact that 35.7 percent of the Whites remained undecided, while only 18.5 percent of the Blacks did likewise. A slight trend towards significance was recorded for this category.

The analysis of the group affiliation responses produced a puzzling result. The politicians, unlike the athletes and sports administrators, were overwhelmingly in favor of the concept of international sports boycotts against South Africa (45.5 percent in favor and 13.6 percent against). Thirty-four point six and 19.0 percent of the athletes and sports administrators respectively supported the boycotts, while 50.0 and 47.6 percent respectively opposed it. This ratio is significant at the .05 level.

Discussion:

High percentages of undecided responses are characteristic of most of the results. This can be accounted for by the standard method of data analysis used when responses to a number of questions are combined (discussed under footnote seven). To a major extent the substantially higher percentage of Whites supporting government involvement in sport, as compared to opposition by their black counterparts, was expected. A number of interviewees expounded on the rationalizations that caused, or might have generated, the support of government interaction with sport.

One of the most frequent justifications used by interviewees supporting the government's actions, was the possibility of friction resulting between the various racial factions if sport was to be practiced on an integrated basis. Mr. Willie Maree, secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church's publications, affirmed the belief that ". . . when Whites and Blacks play against one another and start fighting, major friction* could result off the field" (tr.). It is interesting to note that Maree's theory does not entertain the possibility of members of both races playing on the same team. "If representatives of all the different peoples are thrown together on the same field, we are certainly looking for friction", hence apartheid is the only solution (Botha). Mr. Zimmerman, head of the Department of Domestic Information, stated his belief that in all spheres of society the Blacks and Whites ". . . must be kept separate to prevent friction" (tr.).

This theory why the South African government should be involved in sport, was offered by the same people who recognized and applauded the excellent spirit of sportmanship in which the multi-racial games were conducted in 1973. Mr. Jan Barnard, director of the South African Sports Foundation, sums up the attitudes of both athletes and spectators at the games: "The spirit with which white South Africans accepted defeat by Blacks was greatly appreciated. The crowds reacted in a very mature way . . ." (tr.).

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* In South Africa the term "friction" is often used synonymously with "tension" and "conflict".

Government control in sport, alleged Mr. Punt Janson, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, is necessary for the same reason that the government control is necessary in other areas of the South African society--". . . to combat communism" (tr.). Both these justifications suggest that government control is a method of preventing conflict in South Africa. Kriesberg (1973) points out two accepted approaches to conflict. The first approach, one the South African government seems to subscribe to, sees conflict as disruptive and threatening, always endeavoring to ". . . discover ways of mitigating its disruptive nature" (p 2). The second approach is one of identifying and sympathizing with injustices and looking for means through conflict to reduce oppression--a policy, not unlike that used by overseas sports pressure groups.

Another rather interesting justification for government control of sport and society at large was suggested by Badenhorst. Dr Badenhorst, a former Dutch Reformed missionary in Africa and an original member of the Tomlinson Commission, believes that the "hand of God" placed the Whites in South Africa and that same hand placed them in superior positions (tr.). According to Badenhorst

> The only absolute power is by God and God delegates power--He delegated it to our ancestors and we have to be responsible. We have accepted the basic idea to be responsible for the non-Whites in South Africa (tr.).

This reaction was the only one of its kind amongst all the interviews. Van den Berghe (1967), maintains that this form of paternalism is not uncommon in fairly complex but preindustrial societies. "Genteel benevolence and noblesse oblige rather than virulent hatred characterize the paternalistic brand of bigotry (van den Berghe, 1967, pp, 27-28).

Currie alleges that the South African government will maintain its control in sport because of the influence the black sports hero could have upon the country as a whole. His reasoning--as opposed to justification--finds support in the writing of Fishwick (1954) who claims that the hero is used by society as a social model to maintain the social structure. Furthermore, Fishwick (1954) maintains that hero worship is inherent in human nature. During the course of the interviews none of the government officals and supporters indicated that they were remotely aware of this reasoning.

A number of other observations resulted from the interviews regarding government involvement in sport. While many of the interviewees expressed the belief that foreign pressures through sport enhanced, if not initiated, changes. A number of respondents maintained that the government should be allowed to control the pace of change. If changes are continually forced upon the government, its control might be threatened and the government might simply refuse to oblige any more. In this regard Janson stressed the fact that ". . . action brings reaction and if outside groups pressure too much, the government might refuse any further response" (tr.). Van der Merwe indicated his belief that 'positive pressure', whereby the government maintains control of the 'pace of change', would probably get positive results from the South African government.

> As soon as the government gets pressured to do something without having the chance to decide for itself on the steps of progress, they simply clamp down; it is a natural human phenomenon and it mostly applies to people in power.

Sehume was of the opinion that the change process will not significantly be increased by isolation ". . . unless dialogue is included. As it is, the government is probably getting more stubborn".

Barnard contributed to this issue by stating that the South African social system was built up over a few centuries, and consequently changes will require time. The countries pressuring for changes, however, are impatient to see results in South Africa because tommorow they might be the scapegoat of a frustrated world. According to Craven, political double standards are universally acknowledged and seemingly accepted, but in spite of it the South African government's involvement in sport has become the focal point of international pressure group attacks.

Results of the data analysis indicate that the Blacks in the sample opposed government involvement in sport. This attitude by the black section of the sample, could be interpreted as non-identification with the political system of South Africa at large. This system, as it pertains to sport, is "political dishonesty" (Pollock). She claims that the South African government preaches non-involvement of politics in sport, but in fact makes the policy of separate development very much part of domestic sport. Sehume is of the opinion that "sport should be left to the sportsmen themselves . . .", since government loyalties and obligations force it to proceed very slowly with change. It is his belief that if sportsmen would go ahead and integrate sport in an orderly fashion so that the population at large accepts it, the government would follow suit. In this regard it is interesting to note that the athletes in the sample demonstrated very little support for government involvement in sport.

Worrall (1972) suggests that because sport involves masses, it becomes politically a very sensitive area. Barnard believes sport to be the most powerful political mechanism since World War Two. The interviewees demonstrated considerable awareness of the international political implications surrounding sport and the intentions of the power groups. Craven sums up this common appreciation of the situation as follows: "Rhodesia has integrated teams, but they are still out of the Olympics" (tr.). Currie is more direct in his evaluation of the situation: "It [sport] is a political issue and integration per se is the aim".

Assuming that the rest of the respondents (athletes) was also aware of the ulterior motives of international sports governing bodies, one could attempt to account for the responses of the two racial groups. Most of the Blacks in the sample supported the sports boycotts against South Africa, probably due to the sympathies they suggest for the black cause in South Africa (Currie). Surprisingly, some of the black respondents did not support the boycott concept. Many Blacks, according to Sehume, believe that the sports boycotts are hurting them as badly, if not worse, than the Whites. Although white South African athletes are banned from international sports competitions, the same situation holds true for the black South African athletes. Sehume believes that international exposure of the black athletes would have been more beneficial for the Blacks of South Africa in the long run.

It was expected that the majority of the Whites in the sample would oppose the international sports boycotts against South Africa. The relatively small difference between those opposing and those supporting the boycotts, was unexpected. This situation could be interpreted that the white section of the sample is quite sympathetic to the situation of the black person in South Africa. Bearing in mind, that only one question was used to determine the attitudes of the respondents to the issue, the high percentage of undecided white responses were also unexpected.

An undecided response for a single question suggests either an easy way of escaping commitment, or genuine indecision. Genuine indecision in this situation could have evolved from one of two grounds of consideration. The first could stem from total impartiality--this seems quite unlikely in the South African milieu. The other reason for indecision could possibly mean that the respondent is torn between two values: support for the black cause on the one hand and the right of an athlete to reach his or her potential, during that short period of time available to an athlete, presumably through international competition.

Both the athletes and sports administrators were generally in opposition to international sports boycotts against South Africa. Given the facts that both groups are closely involved with sport and that politics are generally much less important that sport to the sample (table 2), these results seem quite reasonable. The responses of the politicaians on this topic were not anticipated. Little comment on this result is possible other than the fact that while 83.8 percent of the black politicians in the sample supported the boycott concept (none opposed it), 50.0 percent of the white politicians were indecisive on this point.

Mixed feelings were expressed by the interviewees on the topic of international sports boycotts directed at their country. Mr Loock, head of the Bantu Sports Department, sympathized with the white athlete's international aspirations. "Sport, however, is subordiate to your country's traditions and one's patriotism should overcome all disappointment" (tr.). Some of the Whites that were intervived claimed that the pressure groups do not understand the South African social structure. Badenhorst maintains that change is in effect taking place in South Africa and the change process should not be tampered with by those who lack the fundamental comprehension of this process. Mr. Japie Smith, president of the South African Amateur Athletic Association, beleived that a lack of comprehension of the South African situation is a major cause for boycotts. His opinion is backed by many years of international sports administration.

Other interviewees claimed that international sports boycotts have, together with domestic pressure for international exposure, hurried the change process considerably. Naude claimed that "Without the overseas pressure, interracial sport would not have occurred in South Africa". According to Mr. Fred van Wyk, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, without " . . . sports boycotts and pressures through sports bodies, change would have been slower (in South Africa)".

Mr. Hassan Howa, president of the non-racial South African Cricket Board of Control, exhibited little doubt about the effectiveness of the pressure group technique. In the light of present developments in South Africa, Howa's parting words stand out: "If they (the government) think I am militant, just see who is coming after me". Currie's philosophy on this issue seems to underwrite the viewpoint of the pressure groups: "The white man can only be changed if he is forced to".

Van der Merwe, conversely, points out that the environment should be changed first and then the attitudes will subsequently also change. Allport (1958) states that anti-discriminatory legislation could be useful in combatting discrimination and it could, in addition, act as a means to ease personal prejudices. Although the recent multi-racial sports competitions in South Africa are undoubtedly not of the same consequence as anti-discriminatory legislation, it could possibly be setting the stage for a more racially tolerant environment.

Sport, according to Phatudi is ". . . a wonderful technique to change attitudes". Pressures from international groups helped make competition between the different races in South Africa possible. Dr. Oscar Wollheim, former representative on the Cape Province Coloured Council, claimed that sport is an excellent means of getting exposed to" . . . the initial shock of contact and a wonderful way of acclimatization". It is his opinion that the government did not initiate the multi-racial competitions with those intentions in mind, but acclimatization as a compensatory byproduct as international pressure is not to be under estimated.

Key concept 4: Racial sterotyping and the role of sport in race relations.

Results:

This section had dual objectives. The first objective is to investigate how each of the racial groups in the sample perceive themselves and the other racial group in terms of inherent physical ability and intelligence. This investigation was prompted by claims of racial stereotyping in the United States of America on these grounds (Cleaver, 1968). The other objective is to examine the attitudes of respondents toward the possibility of sport aiding in improving relations between the different races of South Africa. In both these sections of key concept four, the responses to a number of questions, were combined and averaged. The subsequent results are presented in the form of contingency tables. In the case of the respondents attitudes towards inherent racial differences, one contigency table controlling for race, was used for analysis (table 14). For the other issue of this key concept, two contigency tables were employed, one controlling for race and the other for group affiliation (tables 15a and 15b).

Four questions were used to investigate the phenomenon of racial stereotyping. The two races and the two independent variables were used in four combinations for the purpose (Q's 27, 28, 29, 30). A number of significant correlations were recorded between the questions used to examine the possibility of racial sterotyping by the sample. Recorded correlations between questions twenty-seven and twenty-eight as well as between twenty-eight and twenty-nine were significant at the .05 levels. The correlation between question twenty-nine and thirty were significant at the .001

level.

Five questions were used to investigate the attitudes of the respondents to the possibiltiy of sport improvising race realations in South Africa. The first question that was used to measure this dimension, asks whether apartheid is necessary in South African sport (Q. 1). The sample was also asked whether or not apartheid is necessary to maintain harmony between the different races in South Africa (Q. 3). The next question was used to measure the attitudes of the respondents toward improving domestic racial relations (Q. 5). The final two questions, which were used to examine the reactions of the respondents to the above mentioned topic, are closely related. Respectively they inquire whether integrated sport would improve race relations in South Africa and whether Blacks and Whites should play their sports together (Q. 6, 14). Various correlations were recorded between these five questions, all of which were significant at the .001 level of significance. The correlations were between questions one and three, one and fourteen, three and six, as well as between questions six and fourteen.

Under this key concept three predictions were made. Two of these pertain to the perceived racial status of the two groups, while the other prediction was based upon the role of sport in the realm of race relations in South Africa. In the latter case, the prediction was that athletes and sports administrators would be more positive about sport improving race relations than the politicians in the sample. The prediction stems from the premise that due to the close association of the athletes and sports administrators with inter-racial sport, they would probably be more aware of the positive influences that sport could have upon race relations.

As for the predictions on racial status, it was expected that the races would hold corresponding stereotypes of themselves and/or the other racial group to those in the United States of America. Cleaver (1968) maintains that Blacks in the United States are looked upon as 'supermasculine menials'-- suggesting brawn, little intelligence and suitable only for menial labor--while the Whites consider themselves as 'omnipotent administrators'. With the latter term Cleaver (1968) intends to create the impression of intellectual superiority. Based on these claims of stereotyping it was predicted that the separate races would believe in both white intellectual superiority as well as the physical superiority of the Blacks.

Of the total number of respondents reacting to the topic of inherent physical and intellectual differences based upon race, none indicated that that they subscribe to these differences (table 14). Fifty-nine point six percent were undecided, while 40.4 percent were definite in their rejection of the projected racial differences between South African Whites and Blacks. Statistically the races in the sample reacted as follows to the issue: 55.6 percent of the

Table 14

The attitudes of respondents to inherent racial differences between the South African Whites and Blacks, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
yes	0	0	0
undecided	15 55.6	13 65.0	28 59.6
no	12 44.4	7 35.0	19 40.4
	27	20	47

Raw chi sq.: 0.124 D.F. 1 Sign.: 0.725

Table 15a

The attitudes of respondents towards the possibility of sport improving racial relations in South Africa, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
yes	23 54.8	24 88.9	47 68.1
undecided	17 40.5	3 11.1	20 29.0
no	2 4.8	0	2 2.9
	42	27	69

Raw chi sq.: 8.985 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.011

Table 15b

The attitudes of respondents towards the possibility of sport improving racial relations in South Africa, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
yes	20 76.9	14 63.6	13 61.9	47 68.1
undecided	6 23.1	6 27.3	8 38.1	20 29.0
no	0	2 9.1	0	2 2.9
	26	22	21	69

Raw chi sq.: 5.689 D.F.: 4 Sign.: 0.224

Whites and 65.0 percent of the Blacks were undecided, while 44.4 percent of the white respondents and 35.0 percent of the black respondents opposed the concept of inherent racial differences. These figures suggest a lack of support for the two hypotheses as they relate to black-white attitudes towards physical process and intelligence of the two races.

On the topic of sport aiding in improving race relations in South Africa, 68.1 percent of the total sample indicated that sport could prove an asset in this regard (table 15a). Fifty-four point eight percent of the white sample and 88.9 percent of the black sample contributed toward the total sample reasons on this issue. Only 2.9 percent of the respondents could not accept the possibility of sport making a valuable contribution to domestic race relations. All the respondents reacting in the latter fashion, were Whites. The difference between the races on this issue were significent at the .05 level of confidence.

In the group affiliation category it is of interest to note, contrary to the stated hypothesis, that the major percentage of all three affiliation groups favored the possibility of sport improving race relations in South Africa (table 15b). Seventy-six point nine percent of the athletes, 63.6 percent of the politicians and 61.9 percent of the sports administrators accepted this possibility. The faith of the politicians in the potential of sport as a means to obtain racial cohesion, was rather unexpected. Both the athlete and the sports administrator groups showed no support for the contrary position. Only a very small percentage of the politicians (9.1 percent) did not think that sport could improve race relations in South Africa.

Discussion:

Santa Cruz (1974) points out that intelligence as a criterion of superiority and inferiority has been advocated through history in the writings of such noted scholars as Fischer, Baur, Grant, Chamberlain, Gunther and de Gobineau. Justificaion of racial superiority and inferiority has often been created on the basis of perceived intellectual and physical attributes. Allport (1958) sums up the approach of the present day social scientist on the topic of using mental tests to measure racial intellectual differences: "Mental tests cannot solve the problem of hereditary racial traits until equality in social and economic opportunities exist; . . ." (p.109). These tests, according to Allport (1958), could only be used if the environments of all the subjects coincide.

Claims for racial superiority and inferiority using physical ability as a criterion, have long been regarded by social scientists as unrealistic. Montagu (1942) indicates that the concept of race is merely a categorization technique used by anthropologists. The so-called races only represent a variety of combinations of genetic materials common to all mankind. Edwards (1973) maintains that scientists ". . . have never been successful in deriving consistent patterns or valid relationships between racial heritage and social, intellectual and physical capabilities" (p. 47). Instead of placing race in an intellectual or a physical category, it has been placed in a social context by most modern scholars (Rex, 1969) (Kinloch, 1974) (Simpson and Yinger, 1972) (van den Berghe, 1967).

In the absence of scientific proof of these alleged racial differences, these claims become stereotypes. Ackerman and Jahoda (1950) distinguish between prejudice and sterotypy on the basis that prejudice is misjudgement of members of a group and refers to socially oriented action, while sterotyping is a process of making judgements with little regard for facts. Prejudice, in addition, " . . . uses stereotyping but it is not identical" (p. 4). Simpson and Yinger (1972) simply indicate that stereotypes are part of prejudice--"One of the most important aspects of a tradition of prejudice is the sterotyped pictures it contains" (p. 153). Fishman (1956) maintains that once these pictures are fixed in a culture they tend to guide the groups in their relations with one another. A stereotype, according to Allport (1958), is an exaggerated belief about a category and its function is to " . . . justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category"(p. 187).

Based upon its function, one would expect a considerable amount of sterotyping by the Whites in the South African situation. The present sample, however, did not endorse any stereotyping that related to racial differences in physical capabilities and intelligence. Previous survey studies have shown that those who knew most about other races and peoples tend to demonstrate positive attitudes toward them (Murphy, et.al., 1937). Allport (1958) claims that in the absence of comunication, ignorance tends to make a person " . . . easy prey to rumor, suspicion, and stereotype" (p. 220). Does it follow that absence of racial sterotyping in the sample suggests communication and understanding by the respondents of the other racial group? This non-existence of the mentioned stereotype could possibly benefit the respondents in their quest for better racial relations. Kinloch (1974) declares however, that "Preconceived physical differences are the most . . . difficult to erase. (p. 50).

Two possibilities come to mind as to why the sample demonstrated no support of specific stereotypes. Firstly, the respondents might subscribe to different black-white stereotypes as the ones mentioned in the study. Secondly, it is quite conceivable that the absence of stereotyping tendencies demonstrated by the sample could be due to the presence of racial discrimination in the South African society. Allport (1958) describes five ensuing degrees of negative prejucice action: antilocution, which refers to like minded people expressing antagonisms freely, avoidance (of a group one is prejuiced against); discrimination, physical attack and extermination. Stereotyping appears to fit into the antilocution category of prejudice. Based upon this categorization of prejudice it seems logical to assume that with a more severe degree of prejudice available in the form of legal racial discrimination, stereotyping is not needed.

Although nearly all the respondents (only 1.4 percent was unsure) indicated a desire for better relations between the races of South Africa, one third of that number did not accept sport as a means to improve relations. A two-thirds majority, however, points towards the importance the respondents attached to sport as a means to improve racial relations in South Africa. Of those respondents who did not accept sport as a means to better racial relations in South Africa, some might have had other better means in mind. Other respondents, as was born out by a number of the interviewees, saw integrated sport as a potential area of friction (see section of friction in Discussion of Key concept 3). Van Wyk interpreted the 'friction syndrome', which is used by the government to justify separation in sport and in society per se, as one of fear. The reality of the situation, according to him, is " . . . that there will always be more Blacks that Whites and Whites must learn to accept the Blacks as equals".

Duggan (1973) alleges that " . . . conflict is the dominant theme" in the South African society as it relates to race. Conflict, however, is not unique to South Africa. Kriesberg (1973) claims that social conflicts are all around us and they are inherent in human relations" (p. 1). What is probably unique to South Africa is the fact that Afrikaner nationalism found maturity through racial conflict. Rhoodie and Venter (1959) maintain that the instinct of preservation, as a specific emotional attitude against the numerical majority of Blacks, found renewed expression through the policy of segregation and separate development. The policy of separate development is recognized by the government of South Africa as a technique to, among other things, prevent friction between the various racial factions (Rhoodie and Venter, 1959).

A number of those interviewees who thought sport could improve racial relations in South Africa justified their views in terms of the communication capabilities of sport. Janson claimed that "Sport is a great communication means, but unfortunately it has been used in a negative way by pressure groups" (tr.). Zimmerman supported the communicative possibilities of sport: "Sport undoubtedly could assist in improving better understanding between the different races" (tr.). Van Wyk referred to sport as a " . . . great catalyst to change attitudes" and van der Merwe claimed that sport is having great positive impact on racial relations in South Africa.

The Progessive Party secretary, Mr. Dey, indicated his support for communication through sport to bring about changes, as compared to the isolation through sport technique. Athletes of all races, from all over the world, should be brought to South Africa to compete in order to project to the population at large that black-white association could be friendship oriented instead of friction oriented. Sehume's views, to a certain extent, support those expressed by Dey:

> Sports winds of change are blowing all over the continent--where Blacks and Whites play against one another, positive feelings are arising as well as understanding and tolerance of each other.

Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) suggest that "Communication is essential for social change" (p. 6). Currie and van der Merwe felt that a change in the environment of South Africa will ultimately change attitudes. Van den Berghe (1967) uses the liberalized African situation as an illustration for these claims. After decolonialization, the Europeans rapidly adjusted their attitudes and behaviours towards black Africans--changed political and social conditions caused remarkable and drastic changes.

In the group affiliation category of the sample, the responses of the politicians were contrary to expectations. Their support of sport as a potential means to improve race relations were not anticipated to be similar to those of the athletes and the sports administrators. In this regard it is worth noting that three-quarters of the athletes indicated that racial barriers were not necessary in sport. Their attitude must be respected, since they are athletes of international stature who have been involved on the grass rootes level of inter-racial sports competion. They could probably best evaluate the potential of sport in inter-racial communication. In addition, two-thirds of the politicians and sports administrators in the sample showed confidence in sport as a means to improve race relations. The respondents in these two groups are directly and indirectly involved in deciding the direction of South African sport for the future.

Key concept 5: Integration in sport, industry and the larger society

Results:

This section of chapter four is aimed at investigating the attitudes of the sixty-nine respondent sample toward racial integration in South Africa. A number of questions were used to determine the attitudes of the respondents towards racial integration in each of the three areas, namely, sport, industry and society at large. The combined reactions of the respondents to specific questions relating to each area, are presented in the form of contigency tables. Each area of investigation is represented by two contingency tables, one controlling for race and the other controlling for group affiliation. In addition, a two-way analysis of variance was used to compare the attitudes of the two races towards integration in sport, industry and society at large.

Five questions were used to determine the attitudes of the respondents toward racial integration in sport. The first question inquired whether the separation of the races in sport was a necessity, while the second one asked if inter-racial sports competitions should be allowed in South Africa (Q's 1, 4). the third question investigated the reactions of the respondents toward governmental concessions for inter-racial sport (Q. 22). Question number four asked whether Blacks and Whites should play their sports together, while the final question examined the attitudes of the respondents towards the possibility of fully integrated sport in the near future (Q's 14. 26). Questions one and four, one and fourteen, four and fourteen, as well as fourteen and twenty-six, manifested correlations at the .001 level of significance.

In order to test the attitudes of those in the sample toward racial integration in industry, the respondents were asked two questions: "Are you in favor of integration in industry?" and "Could the different races be kept separate in industry?" (Q's 12, 24). A correlation at the .001 level of significance was recorded between these two questions.

In the investigation of the sample's attitudes toward total social integration six questions were asked. First, the respondents were questioned as to whether apartheid is necessary to maintain harmony between the different races (Q. 3). The ensuing five questions were directed at examining the attitudes of the respondents toward racial integration in various important spheres of the South African society, namely, religious institutions, public places, industry and marriage (Q's 9, 10, 11, 12, 13). A large number of correlations were recorded between the six questions. Nine correlations proved significant at the .001 level: between questions three and ten, three and eleven, and nine and ten, nine and twelve, ten and eleven, ten and twelve, elven and twelve, as well as between questions eleven and thirteen. Questions three and twelve, ten and thirteen, together with twelve and thirteen demonstrated significance at levels of .007, .004 and .009 respectively.

Three predictions were made in this section. In the first instance it was predicted that the black respondents in the sample would accept integrated sport more readily than their white counterparts. Furthermore, the prediction was made that both the races in the sample would be more inclined to approve of integration in sport and industry than in society per se. The introduction of inter-racial sports competitions as well as the racial mixing in industry, versus the seemingly rigid enforcement of racial separation in all other spheres of society, accounts for this prediction. The final prediction was that the black respondents in the sample would favor total social integration more than the Whites in the sample. This prediction was prompted by suggestions by Allport (1958), van den Berghe (1963, 67), Kuper (1969), Randall (1970) and others that minorities aspire to secure equal access to the society they live in.

On the integration in sport issue, a substantial majority of the sample favored racially integrated sport: 73.9 percent were in favor, while only 2.9 percent were

Table 16a

The attitudes of respondents toward racial integration in sport, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
yes	28 66.7	23 85.2	51 73.9
undecided	12 28.6	4 14.8	16 23.2
no	2 4.8	0	2 2.9
	42	27	69

Raw chi sq.: 3.390 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.18

Table 16b

The attitudes of respondents towards racial integration in sport, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
yes	22 84.6	13 59.1	16 76.2	51 73.9
undecided	4 15.4	7 31.8	5 23.8	16 23.2
no	0	2 9.1	0	2 2.9
	26	22	21	69

Raw chi sq.: 6.737 D.F.: 4 Sign.: 0.15

Table 17a

The attitudes of the respondents toward racial integration in industry, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
yes	25 59.5	22 81.5	47 68.1
undecided	12 28.6	2 7.1	14 20.3
no	5 11.9	3 11.1	8 11.6
	42	27	69

Raw chi sq.: 3.868 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.14

Table 17b

The attitudes of the respondents towards racial integration in industry, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
yes	21 80.8	11 50.0	15 71.4	47 68.1
undecided	2 7.7	9 40.9	3 14.3	14 20.3
no	3 11.5	2 9.1	3 14.3	8 11.6
	26	22	21	69

Raw chi sq.: 8.991 D.F.: 4 Sign.: 0.07

Table 18a

The attitudes of the respondents toward racial integration in society, controlling for race

Count Col. Pct.	Whites	Blacks	Row total
yes	14 33.3	21 77.8	35 50.7
undecided	23 54.8	5 18.5	28 40.6
no	5 11.9	1 3.7	6 8.7
	42	27	69

Raw chi sq.: 12.991 D.F.: 2 Sign.: 0.002

Table 18b

The attitudes of the respondents towards racial integration in society, controlling for group affiliation

Count Col. Pct.	Athlts.	Poltcs.	Spts. Adms.	Row total
yes	13 50.0	14 63.6	8 38.1	35 50.7
undecided	11 42.3	5 22.7	12 57.1	28 40.6
no	2 7.7	3 13.6	1 4.8	6 8.7
	26	22	21	69

Raw chi sq.: 5.574 D.F.: 4 Sign.: 0.23

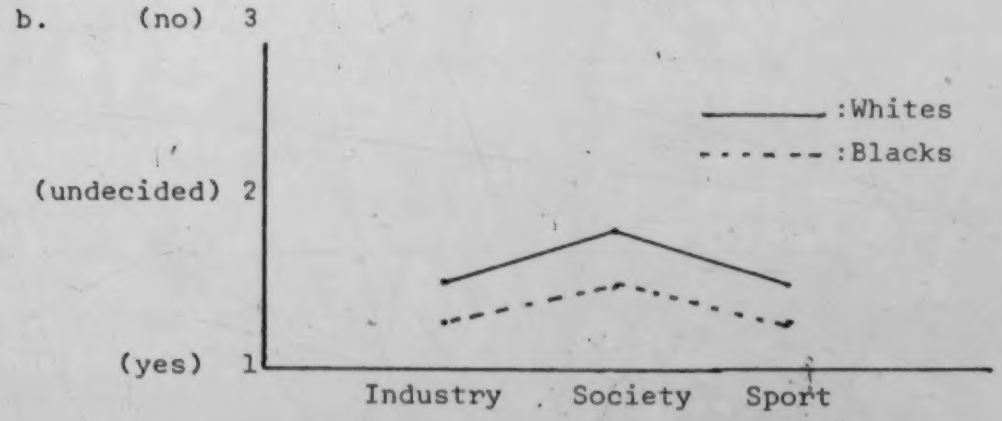
Table 19

The results of a two-way analysis of variance on the comparative responses of the two races toward racial integration in sport, industry and society at large

a.

		Attitude			
		Industry	Society	Sport	Total
Race	Whites	1.536	1.833	1.500	1.623
	Blacks	1.296	1.509	1.296	1.367
	Total	1.442	1.707	1.420	

b.



c.

Source of Variation	Sum of squares	D.F.	Mean Squares	F	Probability
Race	3.224	1	3.224	7.308	0.009
Error (a)	29.559	67	0.441		
Attitude	3.069	2	1.535	8.365	0.0004
Att.x race	0.126	2	0.063	0.344	0.7095
Error (b)	24.584	134	0.183		

opposed (table 16a). The Blacks in the sample demonstrated approximately a twenty percent greater acceptance of racially integrated sport than the white respondents (85.2 to 66.7 percent). These figures support the hypothesis that black respondents accept racial integration in sport more readily than the white respondents. While only 4.8 percent of the Whites opposed racially integrated sport, none of the Blacks in the sample responded similarly. Twice as many white as black respondents were undecided (28.6 to 14.8 percent). These ratios suggest a trend towards significance.

In the group affiliation category, both the athletes and sports administrators were significantly more in favor of racially integrated sport than were the politicians at 84.6, 76.2 and 59.1 percent respectively (table 16b). None of the athletes or sports administrators opposed racial integration in sport, while 9.1 percent of the politicians did. Relatively few athletes were undecided (15.4 percent), while the sports administrators and politicans demonstrated increasing indecision at 23.8 and 31.8 percent respectively. These results also suggest a slight trend towards significance.

The attitudes of the respondents towards racial integration in industry proved to be quite similar to their attitudes toward racial integration in sport. Sixty-eight point one percent of the total sample favored racial integration in industry, while 11.6 percent opposed it and 20.3 percent were undecided (table 17a). The Blacks were 22 percent more positive in their acceptance of racial integration in industry than the Whites (81.5 to 59.5 percent), which indicates support of the stated hypothesis. The Whites in turn manifested 21.5 percent more indecision than the black respondents (28.6 to 7.1 percent), while the two races had roughly similar percentages for those opposing racial integration in industry. A slight trend towards significance is apparent.

The athletes and sports administrators showed respectively 30.8 and 31.4 percent more acceptance of racial integration in industry than the politicians, who were 50.0 percent in favor of this possibility. Forty point nine percent of the politicians were undecided as compared to 7.7 percent of the athletes and 14.3 percent of the sports administrators. Approximately equal percentages of athletes, politicians and sports administrators opposed racial integration in industry, with percentages of 11.5, 9.1 and 14.3 percent respectively. A trend toward significance is evident between these relationships.

A small majority of the respondents agreed with the idea of social integration, but markedly less so than with racial integration in sport and industry (table 18a). Fifty point seven percent of the sample supported integration in society at large, 40.6 percent were undecided and 8.7 percent opposed it. Along racial lines there was a 44.5 percent difference in support for total racial integration between the Whites and the Blacks. Thirty-three point three percent of the Whites accepted the possibility of social integrtion, while 77.8 percent of the black respondents did likewise. This suggests support for the hypothesis which states that Blacks in the sample will accept socially intregrated sport more readily than their white counterparts. The majority of the Whites were undecided (54.8 perenct), with only 11.9 percent directly opposing total racial integration. Eighteen point five percent of the Blacks were undecided on this issue, while 3.7 percent opposed total social integration. The relationship between black and white responses to social integration is highly significance (.002 level).

It is interesting to note that the politicians in the sample were more in favor of social integration than the athletes and sports administrators at 63.6, 50.0 and 38.1 percent respectively (table 18b). A high percentage of both the athletes and sports administrators were undecided on this issue (42.3 and 57.1 percent). Although the politicians showed the strongest support for total social integration, they also had the highest percentage of those who were opposed, with 13.6 percent, as compared with 7.7 percent of the althetes and 4.8 percent of the sports administrators.

By comparing the attitudes of the respondents toward racial integration in sport, industry and society at large by race, a general overall trend toward integration was detected (table 19a). The main scores indicate an acceptance by the Whites of racial integration in sport and industry at

1.5 and 1.54 respectively. At 1.83, however, their attitudes toward integration in society suggest that many are undecided. The Blacks, on the other hand, show considerably more support for racial integration in the three mentioned areas. They felt equally positive about the possibility of racial integration in sport and industry at 1.3, while their acceptance of total racial integration shows a little more hesitancy at 1.5. It is interesting to note that despite the differences in reactions by the two races, the responses were parallel (table 19b). The differences between the racial groups on this question are significant at the .001 level of confidence.

Discussion:

Since the concessions of 1967, the South African government has adopted an unmistakably pragmatic approach toward their sports policy, as perceived within the context of separate development (see Apartheid and Sport). The policy has changed considerably from the initial ". . . Whites and Non-Whites must play sport separately" (Rand Daily Mail, February 4, 1963), to the present situation of non-racial cricket on club level (Comment and Opinion, January, 1976).

When multi-national (multi-racial) competitions were introduced in South Africa in 1973, the left-winged faction referred to it as merely "smoke screen" tactics used by the government to satisfy an electorate hungry for international sport (Currie) (Kane-Berman, 1972). The right-winged South

Africans, conversely, considered it an act of treason towards the country and a breakdown in the ideology of separate development (Star, March 23, 1973). Within the context of Afrikaner nationalism, which developed as a direct consequence of the ideology of apartheid, the ultra conservative Whites could possibly have found reasons to justify their claim of treason (Rhoodie and Venter, 1959).

At the time the data for this study was collected, the respondents had already experienced the multi-national games and probably had already come to grips with the realization that "multi-nationals" are not really fully integrated competitions. In the light of these facts, as well as in the light of further developments in the South African sports policy, the responses of the white sample toward sport became meaningful. The South African government is known to be very responsive to the mood of the electorate (van Wyk) (Currie). The Whites in the sample demonstrated a general tendency towards accepting racial intergration in sport and less than two years after they responded to this study, more changes in the sports policy have taken place. This situation suggests that there is a similarily between the attitudes of the white respondents and the attitudes of the electorate at large.

Some interesting thoughts on the racial integration of sport were expressed by a number of respondents during the interview sessions. To the right-winged Treurnicht, integration in sport ". . . will be a shame, but not the end of the world" (tr.). Although social integration would probably mean 'the end of the world' to the right-winged electorate, integrated sport, though not desirable, has been deemed acceptable. Barnard claims that "sport is not susceptible to the word integration--it is a word one would use on a social level, not in sport" (tr.). Botha alleged that changes are taking place in South Africa, but in an evolutionary sense. Pragmatism, claims Botha, is practiced in the area of sport without abandoning the ideology of separate development.

A number of interviewees express their concern over the possible implications integrated sport could have on the social structure of South Africa. Hertzog vehemently rejected integrated sport as being a communistic ploy to get total integration and eventual black rule in South Africa. A number of other interviewees, although less outspoken on the communitic ploy idea, regared racial integration in sport as a possible threat to the separateness of the races (Maree) (Zimmerman) (Badenhorst). Other interviewees essentially agreed, but viewed the possible end result of social integration as a hopeful sign, rather than as a threat (Naude) (van Wyk) (Currie). The structural-functionalist approach, which basically assumes that ". . . changes in any part of the social system will have important consequences for other parts of the system as a whole", finds major application in the above mentioned views (Inkeles, 1964, p. 33).

Naude described the possibility of an integrated society, during an interview, as 'desirable'. Van Wyk maintained that such a situation is the ". . . inevitable reality" and will be to the benefit of South Africa as a whole. An integrated society in South Africa suggests to Currie an elimination of frustration ". . . which has nothing to do with economics--it is on a psychological level". This view would probably echo the sentiments of a large number of South African Blacks.

During an interview with Mr. Hassan Howa, president of the non-racial South African Cricket Board of Control, it was disclosed that the government had been trying to anticipate the mood of the voting public on racially integrated sport. Dr. Koornhof, Minister of Sport, in consulation with Howa, proposed a three year plan that would eventually lead toward open sport. On October 14, 1974, Koornhof announced that "Where discrimination on the grounds of race and colour still applied in sport, it was the stated basis and object of Government policy to remove it" (Comment and Opinion, October 18, 1974, p. 22). Presently the South African policy is providing for 'normal cricket' to be played in the Republic. This new introduction refers to ". . . participation of and competition between all cricketers regardless of race, creed or colour in cricket at club level" Comment and Opinion, January 23, 1976, p. 13).

Despite these changes, which could conceivably hold major consequences for the country's social system, South Africa lost its membership with the International Amateur Athletics Federation in July of 1976. Dr. Hannes Botha, who defended the Republic of South Africa at the I.A.A.F. congress, commented thus on the turn of events: "We have done everything the I.A.A.F. has asked us to do and still it expells us. *I deny there is government control (in sport) in South Africa* (*Comment and Opinion*, July 30, 1976, p. 8).

The present governmental trend toward racially integrated sport prompted Dr. Treurnicht, now in the capacity as Deputy Minister of Bantu Administation, to review his original stance on racial integration in sport. He now claims publically that integrated sport, if build into ". . . our normal sport pattern, the structure of separate development will be broken open" and should consequently be obstructed (*Diamond Fields Advisor*, July 21, 1976). This suggested trend toward integrated sport by the government was probably coordinated to appease public opinion, with the result that Dr. Treurnicht's claims were rather inopportune and his removal from office was demanded by the opposition party (*Diamond Fields Advisor*, July 21, 1976).

A number of the interviewees underwrote the comment by Hova that the public was ready for racially integrated sport. It is interesting to note that those opinions were already expressed in 1974. Pollock claimed that sport has ". . . a tremendous liberalizing effect on apartheid". In her opinion "the tolerance of the spectators (at the multiracial games) was very impressive" and that the people of South Africa are ready for racially integrated sport. Sehume predicted that due to the readiness of the South Africans for racially integrated sport, South Africa will have ". . . total integration in sport in three to five years".

The Rand Daily Mail, one of the South African newspapers with the largest circulation, commented on the present situation in sport as follows:

> Mixed club crickets--and other sport--would open up an area of contact between the races that is sorely needed in our society. And sports fields are ideal places to build friendships and respect . . . The cricketers have provided the Government with an opportunity to prove it is sincere in its call for better race relations and an end to discrimination in South Africa (January 20, 1976).

Public support probably made sport less of a domestic political risk to the government who, like most other governments, is oriented toward satisfying its electorate. The chance for sport to improve racial communication seemed long overdue. Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) maintain that communication is necessary for any form of social change, and in South Africa sport could conceivably fulfil this role. Could it be that sport will create the opportunity for the different races to proceed through the necessary stages of contact, competition and accommodation toward eventual assimilation (Park, 1950)?

Undoubtedly the most powerful ally of sport in this regard is the economy. The Spro-cas Political Commission report on political alternatives for South Africa, found that

> . . . separate development means, primarily, separation in the political and social spheres. Economic integration or inderdependence is regarded as an unalterable state of affairs (Laurence, 1973, p.25).

This process of economic integration can hardly be reversed at this stage, since a strong economy with foreign investments assure support and sympathy from abroad for the South African government and its policies (Field, 1973) (World Council of Churches, 1973).

It is certain that this process has and will have, a snowballing effect upon the policy of separate development. Under section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act (the so-called Job Reservation clause), Whites are assured of filling all the skilled labor positions in industry (Jacobs, 1971). In April of 1973, the South African industry already had a shortage of 60,000 white workers to fill the skilled positions (Comment and Opinion, September 27, 1974). Only by training Blacks to fill those positions that were legally reserved for Whites, can the country maintain its standard of living and keep its foreign support. Although some relaxation of job reservation has taken place over the past few years, influential industrialists, such as Mr. J.P. Coetzee, the managing director of the South African Iron and Steel Corporation, is calling for major policy changes in this area (Comment and Opinion, January 30, 1976). Santa Cruz's (1974) point that discrimination, if the final analysis, is harmful to the discriminator, seems well taken in the context of the South African economic situation.

Considering these facts, the general support demonstrated by the sample for industrial integration seems obvious. Given the obstructions separate development poses for the advancement of the black person in South Africa, the greater black than white support for industrial integration is quite understandable. The high percentage of undecided politician responses could probably be accounted for by the negative approach of a number of them towards the word integration, while realizing at the same time the facts about the practice of racial mixing in industry.

Interviewee responses suggest that the majority were aware of the influences and implications of industrial integration upon those involved, as well as upon the structure of separate development. A number of interviewees expressed the conviction that racial separation in industry has by necessity always been a non-entity and could not possibly have been maintained.

In this regard Sehume commented that ". . . economy is undoubtedly a hazard to the structure of apartheid". Both Naude and Sehume indicated that a shortage of skilled labor is forcing industry to train increasingly more Blacks for those positions previously held by Whites. This situation is being accompanied by better wages and consequently higher status for the Black industrial worker. This closing of the poles between the races is suggesting that racial equality in industry is not too far away. Mr. Norman Daniels, president of the Textiles Workers Union, pointed out that in industry the Blacks and Whites are equally important to one another and accommodation of human rights could come about in industry by necessity.

Some of the interviewees still maintained that although the races work together, this situation holds little threat for the structure of separate development. Zimmerman mentioned this occurrence without any reference to his earlier statements concerning the friction syndrome and the need to keep races apart. Van Wyk indicated that the separation of the races for the sake of preventing friction is essentially an escape mechanism used by the government to justify their discriminatory policies. Treurnicht disclosed that this close relationship between the races through industry does not necessarily pose a problem to the maintainance of apartheid--". . . just more careful planning is needed" (tr.).

The attitudes of both the racial groups toward social integration were, as predicted, somewhat less positive than their attitudes toward integration in sport and industry. Although the over-all black response still demonstrated ample support for social integration, the over-all white response suggested a strong overtone of indecision. It is interesting to note that a very small percentage of the white sample actually opposed social integration--the majority were undecided on this issue. This high percentage of indecision is perhaps a good indication that most Whites are not yet prepared for total intergration. Supporting this line of though is the finding that more than one half the white respondents directly opposed inter-marriage. The latter was used as one of the six issues to determine the respondent's attitudes towards social integration.

A considerable number of white interviewees indicated that social integration would by necessity include miscegenation, which they found totally unacceptable. Botha perceives different levels of integration: attending a church service with the other race, for instance, is an acceptable level of integration, but inter-marriage or biological mixing refer to total integration which cannot be tolerated. Van Wyk claims that blood mixing connotes a deep fear for the Afrikaner--a fear of losing their racial purity and identity to that of the numerically more powerful Blacks. Rhoodie and Venter (1959) allege that this fear originates from the frontier days of initial black-white confrontations. At that time the fear of being overpowered by the black masses was very real and subsequently remained with the Afrikaners. The present form of miscegenation paranoia, van Wyk claims, is unsubstaniated since Whites have retained their racial 'purity' for the past 300 years and have indeed strengthened their cultural identity.

Mlonzi, van Wyk and Wollheim were all of the opinion that legislated segregation was unnecessary, if not extremely inhumane, to keep the races of South Africa separated. Pollock maintained that prior to the legal separation of the races in 1948, a natural separation was evident because "like meets like". In her opinion "the clock has been turned back since 1948". On the topic of intermarriage, Currie suggested that ". . . groups of people tend to stick together in order to preserve their culture". Wagley and Harris (1958) a noted social scientist pair, state that one of the five characteristics of a minority is to marry within their own group.

A rather interesting analogy springs from the 'melting pot' versus 'racial purity' concepts. Toynbee (1961) postulates that all problems concerning racial disunity, ideologies and nationalism can be solved through the physical process of intermarriage. Currie, however, suggested in an interview that the 'melting pot' concept is definitely not suited for the South African situation. Since both the black and white cultures are very strong and since both groups are interested in maintaining their respective cultures, the 'melting pot' concept for South Africa seems remote.*

By comparing the attitudes of the two races in the sample toward racial integration in sport, industry and society at large, one becomes aware of a definite trend toward integration in the former two institutions and to a lesser extent in society. In all three instances the Blacks supported integration more so than the Whites. It is interesting that although the two racial groups showed different levels of support for integration their responses were perfectly parallel.

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* Du Toit (1969) makes the point that although the urban Black is adapting to western ways their culture has remained intact in many ways.

The attitudes demostrated by the respondent are probably not unlike the general mood of the South African population. This projection, as far as the Whites are concerned, is based upon the previously discussed assumption that the South African government is sensitive to the attitudes of the electorate. In this regard Dr. Hilgard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated in 1974 that South Africa would be moving away from racism and unnecessary discrimination and it would be up to the government to take the lead in doing so (Race Relations News, December, 1974). Evidence of non-discrimination is becoming more and more evident in sport and industry, as well as in the area of 'petty apartheid'.

Although both racial groups in the sample lean toward integration, understandably it is the Blacks who demonstrated the stronger support in all three areas. Their support suggests a strong need for equal access to the society they live in. This situation seems to find a certain amount of substantiation within the context of the recent racial riots and general unrest. Van Wyk and Howa claimed that both sport and the economy are being used by the government to acclimatize its electorate to major social changes. It could be that the slow acclimatization of the electrate to changes have exhausted the patience of the South African Blacks. Perhaps the government's concern for the mood of the electorate will be its undoing.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

Literature on the South African social structure abounds with references attesting to the importance of sport to its population. These writings however, are not empirically supported. A number of important questions were derived from the universally accepted popularity of sport in the South African society: Is the suggested importance of sport to South Africans a reality? If so, could sport possibly act as a means to improve racial relations domestically? Would racial integration be acceptable in South Africa sport and would social integration at large be acceptable?

In order to cope with these and similar questions, five areas--referred to as key concepts in the study--were used to investigate the attitudes of the respondents toward related issues in South Africa sports politics. The independent variables of race and group affiliation were employed to assist in distinguishing between the attitudes of the respondents. Several hypotheses were tested as segments of the key concepts and were directly related to the afore mentioned independent variables. Each key concept consisted of a number of related questions, with all the responses averaged to yield a single set of responses. The analysis of each key concept then was based on the data from the completed questionnaires, the data from personal interview sessions as well as certain theoretical concepts.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

A number of inferences were made in the Discussion section which pertained to each key concept as they relate to the respondent's attitudes toward the various issues under analysis. It seems appropriate, at this stage, to interpret some of these findings in their broadest perspective by projecting them to the South African society at large. This section is based on the data analysis, however many of the interpretations are of a speculative nature.

The data analysis of the sample suggests that sport is of major importance to the respondents. As compared to some of the most powerful social institutions--politics, religion and economy--sport proved to be among the most important. Furthermore, a strong concurrence of attitudes toward the importance of sport across racial barriers was apparent. It is interesting that there was not a similar consensus concerning respondents' thoughts on the other social institutions. The majority of both races in the sample indicated their belief that sport could improve race relations in South Africa. By projecting these findings to the South African population at large, one tends to become positive about the possibilities sport presents for the changing of attitudes and the improvement of race relations. Says Percy Owen (1976), sports editor on the Daily Dispatch:

"Sport, as it is being used as a political wedge, could be the finest platform for a breakdown in all [negative] racial attitudes" (p. 4).

The value consensus between the two races on sport has an interesting implication. According to van den Berghe (1963), value consensus is an important element in moving toward social integration. People in touch with the South African political situation, claim that social integration (multi-racial society) in South Africa is inevitable, if indeed not desirable (Owen, 1976) (van Wyk) (Naude) (Randall) (Day) (Sehume) (Currie) (Wollheim) (Pollock). A number of countries with previously stratified societies based upon race, such as the United States, Brazil, New Zealand, have experienced changes toward a more open society. Certainly their emancipatory histories are well known to the South African government. In the institution of sport the government has an excellent means of influencing attitudes in favor of an open society. Up to the present, their has been little meaningful evidence of the government employing the value consensus approach.

Two implications come to mind. If the government has recognized the possibility of a future socially integrated society, then they have concealed it very well. By withholding their expert opinion from the electorate and by not helping them to make the transition as painlessly as possible, they are deceiving those who put them in office--a characteristic of ineffective leadership. On the other hand the government may not, despite all the signs, have recognized the inevitable. If this latter speculation is accurate, that is, the stubborn disregard for reality, the present South African government is not serving its people in their best interests.

The respondents demonstrated a strong support for social integration in both sport and industry. Although full social integration was accepted by the Blacks in the sample, the white respondents showed somewhat less enthusiasm for this possibility. It is important, however, that the white respondents did favor the idea of total social integration more than the idea of non-integration. By extending these findings to the South African population at large, a number of speculative reflections arise. Firstly, it seems reasonable to assume that, given the seeming acceptance of social integration in sport and the economy by the population, the government has not used these available means effectively to improve inter-racial attitudes. Why then has the South African government not used these resources at its disposal? Could it be that the government did not recognize the catalyst possibilities of sport and industry? Perhaps it is simply a case that the government is not aware of the mood of the population at large? If this is so, it could be that the government is not in close enough contact with its electorate.

A more plausible speculation is that the government, with its strong right-winged faction, was simply using a number of sports concessions to test the mood of its electorate. In that manner the government could expose the electorate in an indirect degree to inter-racial mixing. Furthermore, it could also appease those on the extreme right by justifying such an action as necessary for readmitance into international sport competitions. In addition, the Blacks would be given another reason to remain patient by creating the illusion of progress. In this sense Currie's reservations about government intentions seem well taken: "The government is using concessions simply to accommodate the electorate. They are preserving the status quo".

A final speculation on this topic is that the possibilities represented by the structural-functionalist approach, were after all not lost on the government. Perhaps social integration in sport and industry would be accepted by the majority of the cabinet, but how could widespread social integration to other institutions be controlled?

The ". . . ever changing complex and contradictory reality" of dialectics exposes the government characteristic of non-conformity to changing trends (Novack, 1971, p.71). The message of dialectics could make a positive contribution to any decision-making body involved with social policies. Marx maintained that there are three stages of dialectical progression. Any social situation (a thesis) contains seeds for change to fundamentally different and opposing situation. These seeds eventually produce such a situation which Marx referred to as an antithesis. The latter situation is then in conflict with the original one until a third and final set of social conditions emerge. The latter is referred to as a synthesis and it presumably incorporates and unifies all previous conditions into a superior social organization (Olson, 1968).

Marx's theory finds some relevance in the South African racial situation. Seeds of change are and have been present in the South African political system (social system). Recent riots and general unrest are proving the point. The 'fundamentally different and opposing situation' refers to the possibility of creating a society where equal access by all would be possible. These two conflicting positions will, according to Marxian theory, produce a new, vital and superior social order. The South African government sould take heart in the fact that the synthesis is a result of nature taking its course. In addition, their fears of an unpredictable future must not stifle the natural processes of change. In South Africa military force could probably impede the process of change, but only temporarily. It requires courage and intelligent adjustment by a democratic government to interpret the signs of the times and to adjust accordingly for the good of the majority.

The realty of the South African predicament is basically one of numbers. No other country in the world with a majority-minority situation demarcated along racial lines, finds itself with a similar black-white ratio. The Whites in

South Africa are outnumbered one to five by the Blacks. In the social integration process in countries such as the United States, New Zealand and Brazil, where the minorities were also the numerical minority, a sharing or complete transfer of power was consequently not as major a consideration. Laurence (1973) claims that

> There are few (historical) precedents where an entrenched and privileged minority has voluntarily shared power with the majority (and) it would be almost a miracle for this to result from a process of competitive party-politics restricted to the privileged minority only . . . (p. 45).

The trend toward support for total social integration by the white respondents could have major implications if expanded to the population at large. This attitudinal trend could be interpreted as an indication that the white population in South Africa tends to support a transition to an open society. The confidence they rendered in the idea of social integration in sport and industry was substantially less pronounced in the area of social integration per se. This situation, however, could conceivably be changed with firm leadership and effective acclimatization. Instead of using available means to improve racial relations, a great deal of effort seems to be directed at developing a masterplan to preserve the power for the Whites. In Marxian terms, the government seems to be predicting (speculating) and manipulating the synthesis.

It is interesting to take note that master plans deciding human destiny by profitting from the minority at the expense of the majority (numerically), have seldom, if ever, met with any long-term success--witness the fate of feudalism. More specifically, the separate development plan, master-minded by the late Dr. Verwoerd, is presently experiencing a lack of flexibility and foresight to cope with the needed changes.

Few concrete changes have been forthcoming in the last decade to accommodate the aspirations of the minority and the black mood of hopeful patience is presently changing to open rebellion. Recent violence bears out van den Berghe's (1963) thesis that in-group unity is reinforced by inter-group conflict, which in turn leads to increasing polarization of opinions. This suggests only greater black opposition to the government and increasing violence, which could cause the destruction of any masterplan by the government.

If the government is waiting for significant positive attitude changes of the races toward one another to proceed in making the South African society more acceptable to the Blacks, one would hope they will reconsider this approach. Allport (1958), states that anti-discriminatory legislation could be a most effective tool in combatting discrimination. More specifically, by changing the environment the attitudes necessarily will also change (van der Merwe, 1974).

It is interesting to attempt to visualize the position of the Blacks as a minority group toward the government as the supreme token of white dominance, and vice versa. A certain amount of confusion seems to prevail in South Africa between the government's aims for the minorities and minority aspirations for themselves. This situation does not promote harmonious racial relations. Wirth's (1961) categorization of minorities, aids in assessing the dominant-subordinate objectives. Four minority types, based upon their relationship to the dominant group, are stated: pluralistic, secessionist, assimilationist and militant. The South African Blacks now appear to be concerned with the fourth alternative.

For many years a large number of the black population in South Africa has been in a pluralistic minority situation, while living relatively peacefully side by side with the dominant group. Although this disenfranchised state of the South African minorities satisfied government aims, the Blacks did not continue to subscribe to this uneven symbiosis. Another government aim for its minorities, that of secessionism, met with the aspirations of some Blacks. Generally, however, this racial separation with the accompanying cultural and political independence, is viewed with a great deal of scepticism. The process of population transfer has frequently been employed in the process--often the families were moved against their will to new and less suitable environments. It has become increasingly clear that the black people of South Africa as a group will not become a secessionest minority.

Most of the black aspirations have been directed towards assimilation with the dominant group, as opposed to the pluralistic minority concept. This assimilation wish finds major application amongst the black urbanites. Assimilation,[10] however, is a two-way process and the government does not show any willingness to accommodate their aspirations. A small number of Blacks have become increasingly militant. Whether these militant minority members are aiming for a total majority-minority reversal or whether their actions are a reaction to the non-willingness of the government to allow assimilation, is not clear. But, whatever their motivation, the total majority-minority image in South Africa suggests two facts: uncertainty in government policy towards the minorities and a lack of solidarity in minority aspirations.

Little imagination is necessary to realize that solidarity of the Blacks behind a militant aim could produce far-reaching implications for the world. The evolution of a revolutionary black consciousness should not be shrugged off. Van Wyk (1974) and Pollock (1974) believe that the government should create an acceptable environment for the Blacks to live in if reprisals are to be minimized. By extending the results of this study to the larger South African population, it seems as if white opinion, despite certain misgivings, would be agreeable to creating such an environment.

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[10] Assimilation, according to Theodorson et. al. (1971), does not imply biological fusing.

Amid the above mentioned uncertainties within the ranks of both factions it seems logical for leaders of the different racial groups to begin indepth, open-minded, sincere and far-sighted dialogue on the future of the Republic and its people. The South African racial dilemma is a domestic problem and should be domestically solved. It seems too late for merely treating symptoms--the core of the problem needs to be resolved. Both groups stand to loose through resorting to violence in their quest to resolve the present majority-minority situation. It must be realized that twentieth century living does not set certain rules and codes for the Western World and others for South Africa. South Africa has chosen to be part of the western world and as a part is necessarily subordinate to the whole. The means are still available for bringing about relatively peaceful change--it is a matter of being realistic enough to recognize the possibilities and brave enough to apply them.

The pressures of a world set on liberalizing all peoples have shown definite effects in South Africa through the medium of sport. These pressures, domestic and foreign, undoubtedly have caused major changes in South African sport. The recently introduced policy of non-racial cricket in South Africa has considerable merit. If honestly practiced on a non-racial basis, it would most certainly have a strong influence upon other sports and hopefully, on the South African society as a whole.

Whether the South African government has only recently recognized the possibilities of sport to improve racial relations, whether ideological convictions prevented this approach, whether international and domestic pressures were too overwhelming to resist or whether a combination of circumstances causes this positive approach to be implemented at this stage is now immaterial. The minorities of South Africa, are frustrated to the point of aggression and the world is now focusing on the South African dilemma. The government must act now while it still has some control over the pace of change. As for the synthesis, it must be positive since the Whites and Blacks in South Africa need each other.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is recommended that a follow-up study be undertaken whereby the effects of the proposed non-racialism in cricket in South Africa are studied. A number of interesting questions on this topic come to mind: will true non-racialism be practiced in cricket? If so, what will the effect of non-racial cricket be on other sports? Will the South African government seriously promote sport as a means to improve domestic racial relations? What will the effect of non-racial sport be on other social institutions? What effect will non-racial sport have upon black and white

attitudes? What, if any, role will sport play in the change process of South Africa?

2. A suggestion for future research would be to compare the South African black situation with that of the Canadian native situation. Several native organizations have expressed the wish for separation from the Canadian government, others wish to live peacefully within the plural Canadian society while preserving their cultural heritage to a certain degree, while others have indicated their preference for total assimilation. Are there any parallels with the South African situation and what part, if any, is sport or will sport play in realizing the aspirations of the different Canadian Natives?

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APPENDIX 1

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Sir/Madam:

I am a Physical Education student at the University of Alberta in Alberta, Canada, using the South African sport situation as a research topic.

You have been selected to take part in this research study in the capacity of a respondent to the prepared questionnaire. Your cooperation is essential to the success of the study. You will find included a questionnaire, a sheet for some personal information, an answer sheet and an envelope addressed to a South African destination. Since my departure to Canada is in approximately three weeks, I would appreciate a response at your earliest convenience.

Thank you for your time and support.

Sincerely,

Johan Louw.

APPENDIX 2

PERSONAL INFORMATION PLUS SINGLE RESPONSE

Name (optional) ______________________________

Age (optional) ______________________________

Race ______________________________________

Place of Birth ___________________________

Religion (optional) _______________________

Educational Level ____________________________

Are you: a. an athlete __ (please mark answer with X)
b. a politician __
c. a sports adm. __

Score the following institutions on a 1 to 4 scale of personal importance (therefore, if sport is most important to you, mark it with a 1: Do the same with second, third and forth choices).

Religion _____

Politics _____

Sport _________

Economy ______

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Is apartheid in sport necessary?

2. Should South African sportsmen compete against sportsmen of other countries irrespective of their race?

3. Is apartheid necessary for harmony between the different races in South Africa?

4. Sould interracial sports competitions within South Africa be allowed? (On domestic level, that is).

5. Are you in favor of better relations between the different racial groups in South Africa?

6. Will integrated sport improve racial relations?

7. Would you be willing to compete against or on an integrated team outside South Africa?

8. Would you be willing to compete against or on an integrated team within South Africa?

9. Are you in favor of racial integration in education?

10. Are you in favor of racial integration in religious institutions?

11. Are you in favor of racial integration in public places?

12. Are you in favor of racial integration in industry?

13. Are you in favor of racial integration in marraige?

14. Should Whites and Blacks play their sports together?

15. Is sport more popular with Blacks than with Whites?

16. Is sport more popular with Whites than with Blacks?

17. Is sport of importance to the government?

18. Do you agree with this statement: "Sport must not be dragged into politics"?

19. Does the government follow this approach?

20. Is South Africa's expulsion from international sports

competition of concern to you?

21. Was South Africa's expulsion from international sports competition justified?

22. Are you in favor of the government's recent approach towards 'multi-national (racial)' sports competition?

23. Does the government experience pressure from its supporters to ease its legislation in sport (political legislation)?

24. Could the different races be kept separate in industry?

25. Is sport threatening the structure of apartheid?

26. Is domestically integrated sport possible in the near future?

27. Are Black South Africans inherently more intelligent than White South Africans?

28. Have Black South Africans greater physical ability than White South Africans?

29. Are White South Africans inherently more intelligent than Black South Africans?

30. Do White South Africans have inherently greater physical ability than Black South Africans?

31. If South Africa is to be expelled from international rugby competion, would this cause great disatisfaction of the voters at the government?

Note: Blacks - officially referred to as non-Whites.